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INSIDE EIGHT PAGES FROM SUNDAY'S **The New York Times** WEEKLY REVIEW

Hebron leaders 'very worried' after meeting with PM

HERB KEINON

HEBRON and Kiryat Arba settlement leaders said they are "very, very worried," after meeting with Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu yesterday to hear details about the impending redeployment.

"We are extremely concerned," said Hebron leader Noam Arnon. "We asked difficult questions, both about the security arrangements and the municipal authority, but did not get clear answers."

Arnon said the meeting with Netanyahu lasted for about 90 minutes, and was followed by a 30-minute meeting with Dan Shoham, head of the Israeli negotiating team.

Earlier in the day the settlement leaders met in Hebron with Maj.-Gen. Oren Shahor, in charge of the negotiations on the municipal issues.

Arnon said that as matters now stand, Jewish construction in Hebron will be frozen. The reason is not because the Jewish enclave will be dependent on permits issued by the Palestinians, but because "there is no room to grow." Asked whether the Jewish enclave has been extended at all, Arnon said "not much."

Arnon said that on the security level the settlement leaders did not get any clear answers to their questions about sniper fire, or what will happen if a mob of Palestinians rushes one of the Jewish compounds, as occurred at Joseph's Tomb in Nablus. Arnon said Netanyahu's response that the IDF would be ready for any eventuality was not particularly satisfying.

"The agreement will hold only when there is no trouble, when everything is going well. But the Arabs' goal is to destroy the settlement, so there won't be quiet here. And in this case, the agreement has no answers," Arnon said.

Arnon said the atmosphere in the meeting was businesslike. "All in all, we are friends," Arnon said. "We are simply disappointed by the decisions being made."

A large demonstration in support of Hebron is scheduled in Jerusalem tomorrow evening.

Senior members of the National Religious Party will visit Hebron today to hear first-hand the security and municipal problems related to redeployment.

(Continued on Page 2)

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(Continued on Page 2)

Yankees win World Series

NEW YORK (Reuters) — Joe Girardi tripled in the first run and scored another in a three-run third inning, as the New York Yankees held off the Atlanta Braves 3-2 on Saturday to win their 23rd World Series championship.

Jimmy Key and four relievers outduelled four-time Cy Young Award winner Greg Maddux and closer Mark Wohlers, as the Yankees completed a remarkable comeback in the best-of-seven series by winning four straight games — three in Atlanta and one at home, after opening with two demoralizing losses at Yankee Stadium. Full story, Page 10



Retired IDF major-generals (from left) Haim Erez, Avraham Adan, Shaikhe Gavish, Mordechai Hod, and ex-president Chaim Herzog, and O/C Air Force Maj.-Gen. Eitan Ben-Eliahu sing a song in tribute to Yitzhak Rabin last night. Among others attending the Defense Ministry ceremony at Tel Aviv's Mann Auditorium was Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai. (Dana Stern/Israel Sun)

Netanyahu: Syrians won't surprise us

PRIME Minister Binyamin Netanyahu yesterday issued a clear warning to Syria not to engage in any military adventure, while reiterating his call to President Hafez Assad to resume the peace talks.

Netanyahu stressed that Israel is closely monitoring all developments in Syria and Lebanon and was prepared for any eventuality.

Asked whether there was a risk of war with Syria if the deadlock in the peace talks continues, he said: "It would be a tragedy, because we have offered to resume the peace talks and we have also said that our purposes in Lebanon, as on the Golan, are purely defensive."

"It should be clear, however, that we observe everything that goes on and there is no question here of a possible surprise."

"We have taken all the necessary countermeasures for our defense. I stress again our purpose is defensive, but we will not be surprised and we will know

how to react to a potential attack.

"What I would like to see is not a discussion about countering a plot or potential threats, but the resumption of the peace talks between Israel and Syria, which was and remains our basic goal."

Netanyahu spoke during a visit to the navy base in Haifa, during which he visited a submarine and later embarked on a short trip aboard one of the navy's biggest and most modern missile ships, the Saar 5 *Eliaz*.

"I want to say, here, while we are on the deck of the Israel Navy ship, that we have a strong, determined army, with special technological capabilities and exemplary officers and soldiers," said Netanyahu.

"This army, which is changing its face every day, can answer any threat facing us. This army, however, has one aim — to defend the country and give Israel the strength and power to achieve a lasting peace."

"The strength of the IDF, such as the navy, is vital to help achieve and preserve peace and these two aims we will achieve."

Asked if the government had received any new information regarding missing airman Ron Arad as a result of efforts of German mediator Bernd Schmidbauer, Netanyahu said: "I will say that our view of the Ron Arad situation has not changed. We have always considered him to be alive and in captivity and we expect his captors to heed the most basic humanitarian principle of returning him home to his family and his people."

Prior to his visit to Haifa, Netanyahu paid a condolence call on the widow of Col. Nabilh Mari, at her home in Hufeish in the Galilee. Mari was killed in Rafiah during the eruption of violence following the opening of an exit to the

How serious is the Syrian threat?

BACKGROUND
ARIEH O'SULLIVAN

THE Defense Ministry is reportedly putting heavy pressure on the government not only to reverse the Finance Ministry's proposal to cut NIS 850 million from the defense budget, but to increase it by hundreds of millions of shekels to deal with the growing threat of confrontation with Syria.

The army is closely watching the beefed-up Syrian army's winter maneuvers on the Golan Heights. Given the chemical warfare capabilities and the sophisticated ground-to-ground missiles that have been added to the Syrian arsenal since 1973, war could be far more costly than in the past.

For nearly two months, two regiments of Syrian commandos trained in airborne assault have been positioned on the northern slopes of the Hermon. Behind them is a crack armored division transferred from Beirut. These are in addition to the three regular Syrian divisions positioned permanently opposite the Golan Heights. And the IDF watches.

"Massing the concentration means [Syrian President Hafez] Assad can play games with us," said one senior commander. "We can watch for three weeks and then let our guard down for two hours and then what have we achieved?"

Assad is getting the IDF used to the new situation, knowing it cannot afford to confront the Syrians man for man. This way, he maintains the initiative.

"The Syrians have carried out a chain of events which allow them to cut the time they need to go into action," said Labor MK and former chief of general staff Ehud Barak yesterday. "We are now at one of the most sensitive and tense times in the past 15 years."

(Continued on Page 2)

Clinton presses for Hebron pact

DAVID MAKOVSKY and DAVID RUDGE

US President Bill Clinton phoned Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu and Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat last night and urged them to finalize a Hebron redeployment deal immediately, before Arafat heads off today to Europe for a week of prescheduled visits.

It remained unclear whether a deal would be completed during the night, to be followed by a signing by the morning.

Senior officials in Jerusalem said that if Arafat leaves before the deal is done, US special Middle East coordinator Dennis Ross will leave the region until after he returns. Ross has been here for four weeks of Hebron talks.

Ross held a key meeting last night with Arafat in Gaza, but Arafat refused to provide any details and Ross made no substantive comment. During the talks, Netanyahu and Arafat spoke on the phone.

In describing the 10-minute phone call to each leader, White House spokesman Michael McCurry said Clinton wanted to "encourage them to do everything they can to address the remaining issues related to Oslo implementation, specifically, security-related issues and the withdrawal from Hebron." He refused to give further details.

"The president said that he wanted the deal to be finalized now," an official in the Prime Minister's Office said. Clinton spoke both to Netanyahu and his foreign policy adviser Dore Gold.

Jordan's King Hussein also phoned both leaders last night in a bid to urge them to wrap up talks.

After flying by helicopter to the Haifa navy base to brief Netanyahu yesterday morning, Ross declared: "Chairman Arafat has a long previously scheduled trip to Europe. Clearly the pace of negotiations is affected when the leaders are not here."

"Also my own presence here is affected because part of my mission is, very clearly, to go back and forth between the leaders."

"It is clear that we have further narrowed the differences that exist, but we have not overcome those differences. I believe the differences can be overcome."

Palestinian negotiator Saeb Erekat was not as optimistic as Ross. "There are deep differences between the two positions. The same disputed issues are still disputed," he said.

Netanyahu blamed Arafat for the delay in the talks. "Some of the aims have been achieved, but an agreement is not an agreement until it is concluded. UN01 then, even if 80 or 90 percent of the aims have been reached, it is not an agreed or signed accord and everything remains open until the last minute."

"We found during the course of negotiations that some issues that we thought we had reached an agreement on had been reopened," Netanyahu said.

A senior official in Jerusalem said part of the problem is that "Arafat is frustrated that he cannot translate the support of [French President Jacques] Chirac and others into forcing Israel to make more concessions at the table. So he holds out."

Netanyahu and Foreign Minister David Levy also held separate meetings with visiting Italian Foreign Minister Lamberto Dini.

According to a statement issued by Netanyahu's office, Dini said that "Arafat is mistaken if he thinks that by delaying the peace process, he will receive European support. Chirac presented the French position, but there are important countries in the European Union which do not necessarily agree with France."

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Ra'anana Mayor Ze'ev Bielski (right), Communications Minister Limor Livnat, and Bezeq Director-General Yitzhak Kaul launch a program yesterday linking a Ra'anana high school to pupils' homes.

Ra'anana pupils link from home to school via computer

SOME 1,200 teenagers at the Mor-Metro West High School in Ra'anana are pioneers in a program linking their homes to the classroom via computer, giving access to data bases for background information and material for absent pupils.

The program was launched yesterday by Communications Minister Limor Livnat, Ra'anana Mayor Ze'ev Bielski, and Bezeq Director-General Yitzhak Kaul.

Ra'anana schools already have one of the highest computerization levels in the country. The Mor-Metro West High School also boasts the second-highest success rate in matriculation exams (97 percent).

Before the program was introduced, 75% of Mor-Metro West's pupils had a computer at

home; the remainder have bought modern-equipped personal computers in a deal arranged by the parents' committee.

Pupils can log on to the school computer at any time to obtain study materials, submit homework, check data banks for information, obtain extra details on subjects that interest them, take messages from the school administration, and query their teachers. They can even order books from the school library.

In the future, pupils and schools around the country that adopt the Mor-Metro West model will be able to communicate among themselves. Pupils who find interest in lessons presented by a teacher from another

school will be able to participate in them via computer.

Livnat said the telecommunication/computer revolution is only in its infancy, and "it will be felt everywhere and in every field. Twenty-first-century Zionism, in my eyes, will mean that Israel becomes the leading world's leading country in this field."

Kaul said Bezeq regards the project as very important in the modernization of the educational system.

According to Bielski, all Ra'anana high schools should be linked to the program before the end of this school year. Livnat added that by 2000, all educational institutions in the country are expected to be connected in a national project.

JUDY SIEGEL

Genetic data to help identify victims of 1948 convoy ambush

THE Defense Ministry will begin setting up a genetic data base to help it identify the remains of 25 people killed in the War of Independence and buried in a mass grave, following a petition to the High Court of Justice.

EVELYN GORDON

The ministry is to report back to the court in four months on both its progress with the data base and the steps it is taking to locate the 22 other missing members of a convoy which was attacked on April 13, 1948 while bringing supplies to Hadassah Hospital on Mount Scopus.

The petition was filed by Yehoshua Levano and Arye Kerner, whose fathers, Zvi Levano and Dov Kerner, were part of the convoy. Seventy-eight people were killed, of whom 31 were identified and buried individually. The remaining 47 were reportedly buried in a mass grave in the Sanhedria Cemetery.

Levano discovered that according to a commission of inquiry appointed at the time, only 25 bodies were buried in the mass grave - the other 22 had never been found. It was not known which 25 were actually there.

Levano then embarked on a search for the other 22, and three years ago, he was introduced to an Arab who had participated in the ambush. This Arab told him that after the battle, the Arabs had gathered up the body parts - Jewish and

process, he said, so why should it not be done simultaneously with building the data base?

Furthermore, Shraga charged, the Defense Ministry has not properly investigated the information given Levano by the Arab. According to the state's affidavit, the ministry's investigation consisted of one conversation with a man who, it said, is "apparently" the one who introduced Levano to his source. This man said the information transmitted by this source was "apparently" incorrect - even though his description of events matched all the known facts - and that the source himself had died in the meantime.

In the end, therefore, the justices ordered the state to report back to them in four months on the concrete actions it has taken toward solving the problem.

Both Levano and Kerner expressed satisfaction with the decision. "Finally, someone is forcing the Defense Ministry to do something," said Levano, who added that he is personally still convinced the missing victims are in the Moslem cemetery.

"If we hadn't taken the initiative and searched and investigated... nothing at all would have been done," agreed Kerner. "It's important that the matter will from now on be effectively under the court's supervision. At least in the near future, it will no longer be possible for [the ministry] to stall and do nothing."

Greenpeace activists protest plans for toxic waste incinerator at Ramat Hovav

SOME 20 Greenpeace activists, both local and foreign, blocked the entrance to the Ramat Hovav toxic waste site near Beersheba yesterday, chaining themselves to barrels marked "Toxic waste, no future."

LIAT COLLINS

Police dispersed the group, which was protesting plans to build a toxic waste incinerator at the site, after about 30 minutes, during which they caused severe traffic congestion.

"The group, which included some members of Greenpeace's ship *Arctic Sunrise*, says it has scientific evidence showing

that even state-of-the-art furnaces would pollute the environment and threaten local residents' health.

"The only solution to the toxic waste crisis in Israel is a preventative strategy in the framework of clean production in all industrial processes," Greenpeace's local representative Ori Zik said. "Greenpeace demands that the Israeli government adopt a national clean production program and a clean-up program for Ramat

Hovav."

Environment Minister Rafael Eitan called Greenpeace's demand not to build the incinerator but to wait for technological advances in cleaning hazardous materials on-site "dangerous and removed from reality." Ministry Director-General Nehama Rooce said the incinerator would meet the strictest standards and that the ministry believes the best option is to burn toxic waste, which is an accepted disposal method throughout the Western world.

Gov't planning multi-million investment in capital's Arab sector

BILL HUTMAN

THE government has given its backing to a multi-million shekel plan to improve infrastructure and services for Jerusalem's Arab community, to demonstrate its commitment to eastern Jerusalem remaining under Israeli control, Mayor Ehud Olmert announced yesterday.

"We want to make sure that Arab residents feel like they are being treated fairly," Olmert told a gathering at the central library in eastern Jerusalem to mark the opening of Arah Culture and Book Week.

"I want to take this opportunity to tell you about a plan that is now being finalized between municipal and Treasury officials."

He described a "four-year-plan," including investment of "hundreds of millions of shekels," for projects ranging from new roads and sewage systems to schools and sports facilities.

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and Finance Minister Dan Meridor have already given their approval in principle, with the exact details still to be worked out, Olmert said. Meridor and Olmert are slated to meet on Sunday, with the plan a major point on their agenda.

Since taking office, Olmert has frequently spoken of bringing below-standard conditions in the Arab community into line with those in the Jewish section of the city, but municipal officials admit that until now little has been done.

One of Olmert's plans that was not realized is the construction of 180 new classrooms that were to be completed by the end of next year. Yesterday, the mayor said it would take an additional year to complete construction, and that another 180 classrooms for Arab schools would be built as part of the four-year-plan.

Speaking to reporters, Olmert charged that it was the previous Labor government that had held up his plans to improve conditions in eastern Jerusalem, and that the election of the Likud government meant those plans would now be able to move forward.

"If we are going to continue to talk about a united Jerusalem, we have no choice but to make sure we treat Arab residents like Jewish residents," Olmert said. He estimated the plan would cost the state over NIS 500 million.

"I will do everything I can to ensure that by 2000 conditions in eastern Jerusalem are on a par with those in western Jerusalem," he said. He said the government's motivation was not only political, but moral.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Panel to inspect hospital kashrut situation
Deputy Health Minister Shlomo Benizri (Shas) has appointed a committee to look into the kashrut situation in all the country's hospitals. The chairman is Rabbi Shmuel Borenstein of the Jerusalem Religious Council, and the other members are public representatives and administrators in the health system.

The aim of the committee, Benizri said yesterday, is to suggest improvements in providing and supervising kosher food and religious services in the hospitals. The committee will present its recommendations by the end of December.

Judy Siegel

Electric Corp. tops blood donors
Israel Electric Corporation has the largest number of blood donors outside the IDF, according to Magen David Adom. IEC gave 1,895 pints of blood since the beginning of the year. In second place is Israel Aircraft Industries, with 1,697 pints, followed by Egged, with 1,580.

Bezeq workers, in fourth place, gave 1,024 pints, and Tadiran 835. Every year, the medical services need 250,000 pints of blood; since January, MDA has received 189,785 - or only 76 percent. Information about where and when blood is collected is available from MDA's toll-free number, 177-022-5911.

Judy Siegel

Local authorities' strike called for today
The Union of Local Authorities has called a one-day warning strike today to protest "the government's failure to uphold agreements it signed with the ULA." All local authority heads are to also hold a protest outside the Knesset today.

The ULA claims the government is not transferring social and economic budgets to the local authorities. ULA head Adi Eldar said strike action was renewed after a meeting with the finance and interior ministers "did not provide a solution to the distress of the local authorities." Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, Eilat and Petah Tikva won't participate in the strike.



Jerusalem Post Staff

Mordechai, Shahak meet German chief of staff
Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai and Chief of General Staff Lt.-Gen. Amnon Lipkin-Shahak met with German Chief of Staff Harmut Bagger yesterday morning in Mordechai's Tel Aviv office, the Defense Ministry announced. Other security and diplomatic officials participated in the meeting, at which the Germans were updated on the security situation and the peace talks.

Mordechai thanked the German officials for the military aid their country provides. He also emphasized the danger of allowing Iran and Iraq to acquire nonconventional weapons.

Bagger expressed his country's condolences for the soldiers killed in Lebanon over the weekend and his military's willingness to help Israel.

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A-G won't indict Miller over flag remark

ATTORNEY-General Michael Ben-Yair has decided not to indict Deputy Jerusalem Mayor Haim Miller (JUT) for calling the Israeli flag a "rag," because it would violate the principle of freedom of expression. Ben-Yair said there is also no public interest in making a case "celebrated" out of a remark that should simply be relegated to well-deserved obscurity. Evelyn Gordon

PRIME MINISTER NETANYAHU

Oslo gave Guns to Arab Police Which were Used to Kill our Soldiers.

The Voice of their Blood Cries out to Us "Don't Repeat that Grave Error in Hebron!"

Before the Elections you said:

"It will be a fatal mistake to bring hundreds of armed Palestinian policemen here (Hebron)... If there will be a conflict, the IDF will not be able to function and will quickly collide with Palestinian forces. This is a prescription for tragedy."

Concessions That Ignore These Obvious Security Dangers Are Indeed a "Prescription For Tragedy"

Mass Rally

Tuesday, October 29, 1996, at 6:30 p.m. at Paris Square (King George St.) in Jerusalem. Buses will be available throughout the country to bring you to Jerusalem, Tel. 02-652-2111.

A March to the American Consulate on adjacent Agron St. will follow to give this message to President Clinton:

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0111446

Afghan war heats up after cease-fire talks fail

ANTI-TALEBAN forces struck at the purist Islamic militia from the air and on the ground yesterday, expanding Afghanistan's latest war as Kabul's new rulers confirmed cease-fire talks had failed.

Fighting on the front north of Kabul was heavy all day and was still raging as darkness approached, witnesses said. They said the two sides exchanged heavy salvos of rockets, artillery and mortar fire and both sent in bombers. The Taleban also used a helicopter gunship in the fighting over a line of hills across a plain 25 to 30 km north of Kabul. Taleban fighters near the front line said they had fought back the combined forces of northern Uzbek leader Abdul Rashid Dostum and former government military chief Ahmad Shah Masood. Taleban kept control yesterday of the strategic De Sabz pass, 30 km north of Kabul despite a strong assault by ousted Afghan government forces. Fighting died down in the afternoon but

MICHAEL BATTYE
KABUL, Afghanistan

intermittent shells and rockets could still be seen landing on the pass.

Asked if former government forces under ousted government military chief Ahmad Shah Masood had taken the pass, Masood's spokesman, Doctor Abdullah, said: "No, not yet."

If the northern allies could break through the hills - and repeated attempts by Masood's men failed last week - they would have a relatively clear run over gently undulating land to the edge of the Kabul valley.

They launched their new bid to punch through the Taleban lines shortly after warplanes swept over Kabul twice on a Saturday night lit by a full moon, aimed bombs at the airport and set off a furious stream of anti-aircraft fire.

The first screamed in low over the capital just before a 9 p.m. curfew. The second hit three hours later and its bomb struck a downtown park, shredding trees and shattering the windows of about 40 nearby shops, but burning no one.

Following the first night air raids in 17 years of war in Afghanistan, another tried again to hit the airport on the northeastern edge of the capital yesterday morning.

Acting Information Minister Amir Khan Mutajji told a news conference the raids, which he said were ordered by Dostum, caused no damage or casualties.

He also blamed Dostum for the failure of cease-fire talks brokered by Pakistan and United Nations envoy Norbert Hol by demanding the demilitarization of Kabul, a condition Mutajji called irrational. "The negotiations were a failure. They chose the path of fighting," he added. (Reuters)

Zaire conflict sends half-million Rwandan refugees fleeing

WILLIAM WALLIS
BUKAVU, Zaire

also killed moderate Hutus.

Aid workers said that over the weekend at least four people died in an attack on Kibumba camp and one Zairean guard was killed and three wounded in an attack on Katala camp.

The head of the UN refugee agency, UNHCR, called on combatants yesterday to stop attacking refugees.

UNHCR chief Sadako Ogata, raising the specter of an even worse tragedy, said: "A catastrophe greater than the one we knew in 1994 is what worries me most. I

appeal to the combatants: please spare the refugees and local populations."

Many ordinary Zaireans say Hutus and Tutsis have exported their problems to Zaire and they want to be left in peace.

An unemployed teacher in Bukavu, the lakeside town in the path of advancing Tutsi rebels, told Reuters: "International opinion must persuade the Hutus and Tutsis to solve their problems themselves and not here on Zairean soil."

Michele Quintaglie of the World Food Program said that about 1,500 Rwandans had crossed into Rwanda from Zaire and were now at the Nkamira waystation near the town of Gisenyi. (Reuters)

New Russian security chief meets Chechen rebels

MOSCOW (Reuters) - Russia's new security chief Ivan Rybkin met Chechen rebel leaders yesterday for the first time, declaring he wanted to continue peace efforts begun by his ousted predecessor Alexander Lebed.

"We will talk about the mechanism of a return to peaceful life and what is needed to make economic revival work and ensure people's normal activities," Rybkin told reporters on arrival in Ingushetia, the region neighboring war-torn Chechnya.

Rybkin later held a closed meeting with former rebel military commander Aslan Maskhadov and two other separatist officials in the Ingush president's residence near the regional capital Nazran, Itar-Tass news agency said.

The separatists have said they are worried that Lebed's dismissal this month could jeopardize the peace deal he signed with them in late August, ending 21 months of fighting in the tiny North Caucasus region.

Rybkin and Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin have been at pains to reassure them that Moscow does not want a return to the violence which killed tens of thousands of people.

But a lasting peace is still a long way off and disagreements continue over control of the breakaway region, which Moscow insists must remain in the Russian Federation.



Qasi Hussein Ahmed, leader of Jamaat-e-Islami (holding a microphone in center) addresses a crowd of his supporters while leading its procession to Islamabad yesterday in Rawalpindi. (AP)

Right-wing religious demonstrators demand Bhutto's resignation

ISLAMABAD, Pakistan (AP) - Thousands of demonstrators waving the Koran and shouting "God is

great" and "death to Benazir," were forced to retreat yesterday from the outskirts of the federal capital after

trying to storm past police and barricades to reach Islamabad. They were demanding the resignation of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto.

The organizer of the demonstration and chief of Jamaat-e-Islami or Party of Islam, Qasi Hussein Ahmed, vowed to sweep Bhutto out of power in an Islamic revolution.

"The repressive measures of the government would prove to be the last nail in its own coffin and pave the way for a grand Islamic revolution in the country," said Ahmed.

Wrapped in a brown blanket and shielding his eyes from the tear gas, Ahmed placed his prayer rug on the middle of the road and led his followers in prayer.

Hundreds of police hid behind 18-wheeler trucks and rolls of barbed wire used to barricade the

entrance to the capital, and fired salvo after salvo of tear gas shells into the crowd forcing them to retreat to neighboring Rawalpindi.

The protesters dwindled to several hundred who threw stones at police, smashed vehicles and set dozens of tires on fire.

Shortly after sunset police fired another heavy round of tear gas to disperse the crowd.

The Jamaat-e-Islami chief was taken away apparently overcome by the tear gas, according to witnesses and residents of Rawalpindi.

"No government can allow an invasion of the capital," Interior Minister Nasrullah Babbar told reporters in Islamabad. "It's their democratic right to protest, but demonstrations are not allowed in Islamabad," he said.

Britain's singles lead sad lives

LONDON (Reuters) - Britain's singles are driven to drink, depression and even suicide by their lonely lives, a new survey showed yesterday.

Dating agencies are the oew growth agency in Britain, but the lonely heart's best chance of meeting a partner may be when he or she goes to pick up instant takeaway meals at a supermarket.

The Singles Market 1996 survey showed that 10 million Britons now live alone. That is one in four compared to just 17 percent in 1971.

Singles are more likely to smoke and drink than couples. The rate of suicide for single men has risen by 60 percent since 1972, the survey showed.

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GROZNY, Russia (AP) - President Boris Yeltsin's new security chief held talks yesterday behind closed doors with Chechen rebel leaders who earlier in the day reaffirmed their quest for independence.

Ivan Rybkin met with rebel military chief Aslan Maskhadov, now serving as prime minister in Chechnya's coalition government, and other separatists, Russian reports said.

The sides met in Ingushetia, a tiny republic bordering on Chechnya, and held the negotiations at a mansion of Ingush President Ruslan Aushev outside his capital Nazran, the ITAR-Tass news agency said.

Speaking to reporters upon arriving in Nazran, Rybkin said he will be focusing on "efforts to start a peaceful life."

"We shall speak about what is necessary for the mechanism of establishing the economy, ensuring life and the activities of the people to operate again," he said.

Rybkin was appointed to the posts of security chief and

Chechen envoy last week to replace Alexander Lebed, the secretary of the Security Council who was fired by President Boris Yeltsin two weeks ago.

The new security chief sent a message last week to the rebel leadership assuring them that Russia would adhere to a peace accord signed in August by Lebed.

The deal calls for Russian troop withdrawal before the end of the year, while putting off the issue of Chechnya's political status for five years. The agreement all but stopped 20 months of fighting, but there has been widespread concern that the conflict might flare up again following Lebed's ouster.

In the capital Grozny, a bomb threat forced a meeting of the separatist Congress of Chechen People to be removed to the town of Urus-Martan, 35 kilometers southwest of the capital.

Police searched the Khimik Palace of Culture in Grozny, where the meeting was originally to be held, but found no bombs. ITAR-Tass reported.

French hostage released in Yemen seized again

PARIS (Reuters) - Yemeni tribesmen have retaken a French diplomat they had released hours earlier after holding him for six days to press grievances against the government, a French Foreign Ministry spokesman said yesterday.

He said the diplomat and Yemeni mediators in the dispute were abducted by the al-Toaiman tribesmen as they were heading for the capital Sana'a on Saturday night.

The [French] Embassy informed us that the French diplomat whose release was announced last night was seized again with

his Yemeni escort by the same tribesmen as they were returning to Sana'a," the spokesman said.

The diplomat, whom the ministry has declined to identify, was first seized last Monday as he drove his car in Sana'a.

The al-Toaiman tribesmen then released him to three prominent tribal chiefs who were mediating on behalf of the government on the tribesmen's demands for jobs, settlement of a land dispute and compensation for losses to homes and farms in floods that killed 65 people last June.

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Costner lands in a sand trap

FILM REVIEW
ADINA HOFFMAN

TIN CUP

Directed by Ron Shelton. Screenplay by John Norville and Ron Shelton. Hebrew title: *Ovin Asoch*. 130 minutes. English dialogue, Hebrew subtitles. Parental guidance suggested.

With Kevin Costner, Rene Russo, Cheech Marin, Don Johnson

KEVIN Costner has proven himself, if nothing else, extremely consistent in his last few films. *Wyatt Earp* and *Waterworld* were easily two of the dullest, most ostentatiously empty products that Hollywood has spewed forth in recent years. And what *Tin Cup*, the actor's latest vehicle, lacks in epic pretension it handily makes up for with a diffuse plot, hackneyed characterizations, sluggish jokes and one of the most listless and least cinematic subject matters in recent movie memory: the game of golf.

Now, maybe there is a great tee-and-country-club picture still waiting to be made, but *Tin Cup* doesn't even come close. Ostensibly a romantic comedy, the film barely bothers to supply the lovers (Costner and Rene Russo) with a few perfunctory obstacles before it lets them cuddle up.

It's vastly apparent that these two will get together from the very first scene, when Russo — cast, improbably, as a psychologist — struts onto the West Texas driving range where Roy "Tin Cup" McAvoy (Costner), a down-on-his-luck golf ace, teaches the game.

Then it's only a matter of time before Roy decides to impress the pretty doctor and vie for the US Open. Tightly enough, Molly's current boyfriend (Don Johnson) is a smug pro and old rival of Roy's, who's favored to win the tournament. So Roy's challenge is twofold: to steal the title and



On and off the golf course, Roy "Tin Cup" McAvoy (Kevin Costner) is beset by inner demons.

sider what's gone wrong. As we watch all those softly lit putting sessions and wait for the ordeal to end, we think *No, it couldn't be*. There has to be a twist. The surprise, then, is that there isn't. *Tin Cup* is a sprawling sand trap. Beware.

Hot new band a Halloween treat

NORM GUTHARTZ

WHAT will make this Thursday night's party at Tel Aviv's Limor Hall unusual is not just that it will celebrate Halloween, a recent import from the US, but that the live act is being touted as Israel's answer to the cult American band the Grateful Dead.

Journalist and Radio 3-disk jockey Uri Lotan is comparing the lameoed Dead and the two-year-old Wild Weed (*Esef Bar*), which recently released its first album on the new Third Ear (*Ozen Hashlishi*) label.

"Wild Weed takes Israeli music and combines it with rock," Lotan says. "The Dead took a particular American ethnic sound — blues, country — and it became the Grateful Dead sound. Wild Weed does that with Israeli music."

The group's founder and lead guitarist, Ori Cohen, said his goal was to create a synthesis of styles.

His own interests are eclectic: folk music from Ireland, Morocco, India and the Balkans, along with Jewish liturgical and traditional Arabic music. "We are also influenced by music that arrived with each wave of immigration," he added.

Cohen assembled the band, bringing together classically trained violinist Oren Tzur, jazz-influenced winds player Hagai Kovesh, rock bassist Ofer Dominguez and the multifaceted Barak Ben-Tzur on drums.

The result is what *Jerusalem Post* reviewer David Brino described as a program of "dreamy folk-style ballads and upbeat ethnic-sounding jamfests which at times resemble Jethro Tull unplugged."

"The level of musicianship is very high," Lotan says. "They'll be the next big Israeli band."

Wild Weed's performance will be like something out of the Sixties, because of the Grateful Dead connection, Cohen says. "It will be a more open performance, with more improvisations, lots of dynamics and lots of instruments."

Each band member plays several, and given the excitement their recorded instrumentals generate, they may well be breathtaking on stage. The tough question is whether to sit and listen carefully to their playing or let their magical rhythms transport you to the dance floor.

The party will be an aural and visual treat, with videos of Dead performances and Wild Weed's light show.

The Halloween party starts at 10:30 p.m. at Limor Hall, 30 Ibn Gvirol Street (AKA the Lodon Ministore). Admission costs NIS 30. For information, phone (03) 696-8084.

If you miss the party, you can catch Wild Weed on November 14 at Pub Hehater in Tiberias, November 21 at Netanya's Muza club, or November 28 at the Pargod Theater in Jerusalem.

Ethnic jazz moves out of the pub

MICHAEL AJZENSTADT

JAZZ is often assumed to be anchored in the American south. But according to Israeli percussionist Doron Raphaeli, the success of the Minuette ensemble is because it plays very Israeli jazz.

"We don't try to imitate New Orleans jazz or American rhythms, we are not good enough at it. What we do is play local music which derives from our own traditions and the audiences love it."

Minuette's newly released third disc, *The Eternal River*, is almost entirely based on the music of the great Arab composer Muhammad Abdel Wahab, with some original material and one Miles Davis number thrown in for good measure.

Minuette was founded eight years ago, almost by chance, when a few local musicians jammed together in Haifa. "I had just returned to Israel after studying a few years in America and I met Menachem Zibziner [guitar] and Nitsan Ein-Habar [saxophone]. A few months later we all met Itay Shomron [bass] and this is Minuette."

From its inception, the ensemble based its music on original works. "We are all writing music too, so we always composed our own stuff. Our jam sounded different from anything else around. Most people perform very technical jazz but we were very tender, soft and melodious."

The music is written by Minuette members in the rehearsal room, in occasional meetings, and even live on the stage — which the audience adores as it seems more connected to the musical experience.

But what began as jazz gigs in pubs has now turned into a more established performance which is presented in larger halls and major festivals all over the country.

In 1989, Minuette released its first album, *First Dance*, "which," says Raphaeli, "I believe is the most-sold jazz album in Israel with well over 5,000 copies, which for jazz is quite an achievement."

All Minuette members make their living from other musical activities. Ein-Habar, for example, plays with Shlomo Artzi. Raphaeli is also the percussionist of rock band Arafat. "Minuette is for the soul but it will never even pay us back our own expenses."

Minuette celebrates the release of its new disc, which features very soothing, compelling and invigorating melodies in the ensemble's very beguiling style, with a festive concert on Thursday at the Enav Centre in Tel Aviv. The disc, released by MCI, is available in all local disc stores.

Decline in US TV violence

BRIAN LOWRY

THE latest study on depictions of violence on American network television has found reduced levels virtually across the board compared to a year earlier.

The second annual report — conducted by the University of California, Los Angeles, Center for Communication Policy, and sponsored by the four major American networks — concluded the networks are "moving in the right direction," with only five of 114 prime-time series monitored raising "frequent concerns" about violent content.

Other categories — including TV movies, feature films, on-air promotion and children's programming — all exhibited improvement compared to the prior year.

However, the center's director, Jeff Cole, cautioned that there's still reason to continue the monitoring process, pointing out new problem areas as well as such ongoing issues as the broadcast of excessively violent feature films.

"By no means does the report say the problem is over," Cole said.

Network programmers can nevertheless point to the findings — recognizing a relative lack of violence on ABC, CBS, NBC and Fox compared to cable and syndicated programs — as evidence they have responded to issues voiced by politicians and pressure groups about violence on broadcast television.

UCLA's methodology has proved more acceptable to the industry than a survey commissioned in early 1994 by the cable networks.

Specifically, the monitoring emphasizes context and does not merely count acts of violence or aggression, as has been the case in many past academic works, some of which have drawn ridicule from programmers for failing to differentiate between violent action movie and *Roadrunner* cartoons.

The 220-page report, for example, lauded programs such as *NYPD Blue*, *Law & Order* and *Homicide: Life on the Street* for responsibly portraying consequences of violence and mitigating the violent acts shown.

In addition, *The X-Files*, flagged for violence two seasons ago, moved off that list.

Despite its violent content, Cole indicated, the show seldom dwelt on violent images and included no more than were necessary to advance its story.

"The key to all of this is context," Cole said, adding that he hoped context would be taken into account in a proposed TV ratings system — citing the need for distinctions between movies such as *Schindler's List* and *The Terminator*.

President Clinton, who has made the introduction of a V-chip allowing parents to block out certain TV programs a campaign issue, was briefed on the report.

"The president has pushed this issue hard from the bully pulpit," said White House spokesman Mike McCurry. "I think we deserve some credit."

McCurry also credited Republican challenger Bob Dole, who has delivered two speeches in Hollywood about its role in shaping culture.

Compared to last year's findings fewer series (from nine down to five) caused serious concerns about violence, the percentage of TV movies mentioned dropped from 14 percent to 10 percent, and network on-air promotion also improved.

"Though theatrical films are still where most of the violence remains," Cole said, even those dropped from 42 percent prompting concern to 29 percent last season. (Los Angeles Times)

Fugees tipped to win MTV Europe awards

TOM GROSS

WHEN MTV Europe hosted its first ever annual Music Awards in Berlin in 1994, George Michael opened the show by performing his hit track "Freedom" in front of the Brandenburg Gate. The performance marked the triumph of free-spirited Western culture over the austere and rigid rule of the communist tyrannies.

Last year the awards took place in Paris, and the French turned to fashion designer Jean Paul Gaultier to host the event.

This year it is London's turn. Local viewers can join those in 36 other countries in and around Europe by watching the Alexandra Palace extravaganza live on cable (9-11:30 p.m. on November 14).

Former *Take That* star Robbie Williams is to be the main host at this year's awards, and he will be helped by Neneh Cherry, Jarvis Cocker and this year's Formula One motor-racing world champion Damon Hill.

Expected to take at least one award are the Fugees, the newly successful band who softly rap to a nonviolent beat. They have been nominated in four of the eight categories, including best song for their smash hit, "Killing Me Softly." But Britpop bands Pulp and Oasis, and the American group Garbage are also strong contenders, having been nominated in both best group and best song categories.

The nominations were compiled by MTV Europe's "academy" of 800 key figures from the European music industry, including record-label heads, agents, promoters and members of the press. Viewers can now cast their votes by phone, fax, mail or e-mail for one of five nominations in each category.

There is also a further award, Select MTV, in which viewers themselves can choose the five nominees by phoning an interactive "jokebox" during a nine-hour television marathon this Saturday and Sunday, which will see Europe's 100 favorite videos being compiled and then reduced, by viewer votes, to the five nominees.

Leading performers at this year's awards will include Garbage, Bryan Adams, the Fugees and Boyzone, Ireland's latest gang of five boy wonders. However, the star performer will again be Michael, who in 14 years in the business has notched up 60 million record sales worldwide, including six number ones in the US and 11 in Britain.

Michael's latest album, *Older*, has already achieved gold or platinum sales in 25 countries.



Special guest George Michael has sold 60 million records. (AFP)

Cameri Quintet's Heuberger unloads his soul on stage

HELEN KAYE

RAMI Heuberger is good at a sleight of hand. He's one of the Cameri Quintet — TV's most popular program of political satire, now in its fourth season. At the recent Israel Film Academy Awards, he was nominated for Best Actor for his performance as Claude, the lovelorn cop in *Dogs are Color Blind*, and he's currently playing Nahum, an Air Force career officer in search of an antidote, at the Eretz Yisrael Museum in Beit Lessin's production of Shmuel Haskari's *Shiva* ("Mourning").

TV, film and stage "each fulfill a different need," says Heuberger over a morning coffee at a Tel Aviv cafe. "TV is pure enjoyment. You do a segment and go on to something else. It's not important, and I'm glad that it's not." As for film, "it's like a one-night stand. There's not really a film industry here and so it's fun playing at movie star for a few weeks." Stage is where he lets go, "where I can meet the audience and unload my soul. I live a character's whole life in just two hours."

Like *Kiddush* and *Hametz*, the other plays of Haskari's trilogy, *Shiva* is a family drama set within the context of a national event: Anwar Sadat's visit in 1977. Tuva Hagorni (Ilan Dar) leaves his unloving home and his terminally ill wife Dvora (Miriam Zohar), supposedly for a vacation in Galilee. A few days later, an impersonal phone call from London announces to the stunned family that Tuva is dead. Only the family comes to his funeral. The rest of Israel is clustered round the TV, watching Sadat address the Knesset.

Heuberger jumped to prominence when he played an emotionally disturbed soldier in *To'anan*, which won first prize at the 1990 Theater Netto festival. He's married to Noa Lev, the lighting designer for *Shiva* — the couple met at the Cameri eight years ago when she was operating the lights for Moliere's *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, in which Heuberger played the young lover. He also played Claudius in Rina Yerushalmi's production of *Hamlet* that same year.

Today the Heuberger and Haskari families are close friends but back in 1990 Heuberger quit the Cameri because he and Haskari, then the theater's artistic director, didn't see eye to eye over prospective roles.

He was astonished when Haskari sent him the script of *Hametz*, and I thought sparks would fly in rehearsal, but I was very good. I'm not always, but with Shmuel I suddenly encountered real talent, so I listened. Someone once described him as an eagle that sees right into our guts from high in the sky, and I think that's true."

New work by Yampolsky to mark 30th anniversary of Israel Ballet

HELEN KAYE

THE Israel Ballet will inaugurate its 30th year in February, with a new ballet by choreographer/artistic director Berta Yampolsky, but all she'll say about it is: "I'm working on it."

There will also be new works by Rudi van Dantzig, whose *Four Last Songs* premiered last year, and by Polish-born Dutch choreographer Krzysztof Pastor, who'll probably return in January to polish his new and as yet untried dance, set to Gershwin's Piano Concerto.

The company, which has its studios in a Tel Aviv school gym, now numbers 35 — 12 of them are men, a new high.

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DRIVE CAREFULLY

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Settling for Truth in the Quest for Justice



Will baring facts heal the pain left in South Africa from past repression? In 1959, outside Durban, police charged black women rioting over efforts to end home brewing.

By SUZANNE DALEY

TELLING the truth about past atrocities is the way for a brutalized society to bind up its wounds, the theory goes. Now South Africa has seen glimpses of the best this technique can offer: An army general admitting he was the one who gave the order to fire on unarmed demonstrators at Bisho in 1992, and a police captain who helped kill 13 women and children asking the victim's families to "consider forgiving me."
But are such moments enough to heal the nation? To trying to put the past to rest, South Africa has fashioned itself the biggest, most expensive and

most powerful "truth commission" ever devised. In exchange for confessions about atrocities under 40 years of apartheid rule, it plans to offer amnesty. It is gambling on truth — rather than justice, in the sense of seeing people tried, convicted and sent to prison — as medicine for its society.

A Matter of Necessity

This approach has been tried in other countries in recent years, and it has a following. The believers say that truth is at least half of justice. And truth commissions, experts say, are faster, cheaper and in the end may offer more detail about what happened and more catharsis for victims than war crimes tribunals like those for Bosnia and Rwanda.
But efficiency isn't really the point. Truth commis-

sions arise from political necessity. Two of the first countries to create them were Argentina in 1983 and Chile in 1990. As those countries struggled to restore peace and democracy after periods of brutal repression by the military, the generals still had some authority. Jail sentences, the theory went, might have been resisted, plunging the countries back into chaos. Instead, both settled for gathering facts and publishing historical records to at least acknowledge the suffering. Broad amnesties were also granted.

South Africa, too, had little choice. Providing for amnesty was part of the negotiated settlement that allowed the country to make a peaceful transition from a white supremacist government to the first non-racial elections, in 1994. Without this concession, the struggle for black liberation might have continued far longer, with even more loss of life.

Still, South Africa's effort is far more ambitious than Argentina's or Chile's or any other country's so far. It is the first to have subpoena powers and the first to give the truth commission itself the power to offer amnesty case-by-case. This is a weapon whose power was demonstrated last week, when the former chief of South Africa's police force admitted ordering at least two acts of terror.

Gen. Johann van der Merwe's confession was the result of a system working exactly as it had been envisioned. With prosecutors hot on their heels, five mid-level police officers ran to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. As part of their plea for amnesty, they intended to name General van der Merwe as the man who gave the orders. So, along came Mr. van

Continued on page 4

Halloween Devils

Using Ghouls to Get to God

By SAM HOWE VERHOVEK

HALLOWEEN is the Devil's holiday. Some Christian churches believe this glorification of evil should be discouraged or stamped out. But others embrace Halloween, slightly adjusted.

At the Abundant Life Christian Center, the approach is part Dante, part Disney, but it is "100 percent message oriented," says the Rev. Keenan Roberts, youth pastor of the Arvada, Colo., church. The point is literally to scare the hell out of people, especially teen-agers.
For a \$8 ticket, visitors get a 30-minute trip into Hell House, led by their own "demon tour guide." In the first room, a homosexual who has died of AIDS lies in a casket. "We've got your alternative life style all right," says the demon. Then he screams: "In Hell!"

In the next room, abortionists operate on a young woman, who writhes in pain. "Killing babies is a wonderful choice," says the demon guide. "After all, it's so-o-o-o convenient."
Then it's on to a party room where a young woman (all the characters are volunteer actors) mixes heavy drugs and alcohol and dies.



Virtue triumphs in a Colorado church's adaptation of Halloween.

After the drunk-driving and teen-suicide rooms, the visitors arrive in hell itself, a place that, thanks to crocks of burning Limburger cheese, smells truly awful. People wall in eternal torment. Satan speaks: "I put the boy in the casket, I killed the unborn."
Suddenly, though, an angel appears and guides the visitors to the final room, which has soft lighting and music and sweet-smelling potpourri. This is Heaven, and God calls out: "I so loved you that I gave my

only begotten son."
These haunted houses with Christian themes have proliferated in recent years, often sparking protests and pickets. But the Christian operators hail them as a terrifically effective way of spreading the ministry. Mr. Roberts exits that out of 4,500 visitors during Hell House's first eight nights this year, 510 signed cards proclaiming: "Tonight I have asked Jesus Christ into my life for

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Burden of Proof
Persuading
scientists is
the easy part.

By Denise
Grady

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Old McPundits
Here a quote,
there a quote.
Everywhere.

By Janny
Scott

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Latin America
Voters turn to
the right.

By Larry Rohter

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Talking Upheaval
On Capitol Hill

By ADAM CLYMER

more moderate Democrats elected in recent years.

THE Brookings Institution held one of its solemn, history-laden conferences Friday about Presidential transitions. But before the first hour passed, everyone was talking about Congress instead.

As the Presidential race winds down, the battles for the House and Senate are shoving the White House election off center stage. And the assembled politicians and scholars were, as the conference chairman, Thomas E. Mann of Brookings put it, "overwhelmed by the reality that the outcome of the Congressional elections will create the limits and possibilities for Presidential initiatives, much more than the President's own fondest wishes."

There is plenty of debate about the chances of Republicans losing power on Capitol Hill. But there is at least as much debate about what a Democratic Congress — or the more likely Democratic House and Republican Senate — would be like.

One possibility is that the liberals in senior positions in the House would pursue their own agendas, perhaps to the point of conflict not only with the Republicans but with the

In either party's hands, Congress could find itself preoccupied with the question of how to handle accusations of campaign finance scandal involving President Clinton's fundraisers. In the Senate, a serious investigation is all but certain if Republicans maintain control. Even if they lose, they might dig in their heels and seek to thwart every Democratic initiative, including Cabinet appointments, if Democrats do not agree to a Watergate-style inquiry.

The Modest Scenario

But there is also the distinct possibility that Democrats have learned how to count, and have concluded that a victory in November would be less an endorsement of their wildest dreams than a rejection of Republicans for going too far.

Their obvious course would be to move very, very carefully and with as little partisanship as they can manage.

The first course is the Newt Gingrich theory, which Republicans everywhere are arguing in one form or another: if Bob Dole goes down, they say, it is critical to keep Republicans

Continued on page 3

The Nation
Who Aske
Who Didm

Ideas & Trends

So, Smoking Causes Cancer: This Is News?

By DENISE GRADY

WAS it really news to anybody, as headlines proclaimed a little more than a week ago, that smoking causes lung cancer?

The discovery behind the news stories was a report by a team of scientists showing that benzo[a]pyrene, a chemical in cigarette smoke, causes genetic mutations in lung cells that are identical to those found in many patients with lung cancer.

That this unsurprising discovery made such a big splash illustrates a curiously unintuitive idea: When it comes to proof, sometimes scientists are easier to please than ordinary people.

Benzo[a]pyrene has been recognized as a carcinogen for 20 years, but its exact mechanism was unknown. And the tobacco industry exploited that seed of doubt to the fullest, arguing that although scientists had shown an association between smoking and cancer, they had not proved cause and effect. The new study was seen as the proof that would silence the tobacco industry. It was the first proof, on the cellular and molecular level, that a chemical in smoke could damage lung cells in a way that could eventually lead to cancer. But who was actually swayed by the study?

"From the point of view of scientists and doctors, and many people who are reasonably educated in medicine, this finding will make virtually no difference at all," said John Banzhaf, a professor of law at Georgetown University and the director of Action on Smoking and Health, an anti-smoking group.

"There are so many different studies of so many different kinds which establish about as conclusively as anything we know in medicine that smoking causes cancer in human beings; that this doesn't really help," Mr. Banzhaf said. "We already have 50,000 studies. Why do we need 50,001?"

Living With Uncertainty

This last bit of proof is for ordinary people. Scientists and lay people have different ideas about what constitutes proof, Mr. Banzhaf said. Part of scientific training involves learning to deal with uncertainty.

If a statistical analysis shows that there is a 5 percent or smaller chance that two events — say, smoking and cancer — are linked purely by coincidence, then most scientists would accept the idea that the association between them has at least a 95 percent chance of being real and likely to repeat

itself, even if the nature of the link is not fully understood.

But non-scientists, less familiar with statistics, may not be able to let go of that 5 percent, or the lack of an explanation. They may insist that proof does not exist until all competing possibilities have been eliminated. Their notions of "reasonable doubt" in criminal cases, or of the "preponderance of evidence" that is required in civil court, may be colored by their discomfort with uncertainty.

This Causes That

Pinning down a mechanism — being able to say, this molecule causes this change in this cell, which is known to lead to cancer — eliminates some of the uncertainty. People are more likely to believe in things that they can understand.

But some may never be persuaded. The Tobacco Institute said it wasn't ready to comment. R.J.R. Nabisco, the cigarette manufacturer, called the study "preliminary rather than conclusive." Philip Morris said it is "extremely interesting and merits careful review."

One of the nagging issues, and a favorite of the defenders of smoking, is the question of why not all smokers get lung cancer. Knowing the mechanism may help provide an answer. Scientists may one day be able to say that people may differ in the tendency of their cells to convert benzo[a]pyrene to a highly carcinogenic form, or in the ability of their cells to repair the sort of genetic damage that the chemical inflicts, said one of the authors of the study, Dr. Gerd Pfeifer, an associate professor at the Beckman Research Institute at the City of Hope in Duarte, Calif.

The availability of an explanation has made the connection between smoking and cancer less of an abstraction for some people. Idee Fox, a Philadelphia judge who quit smoking a month ago and who still craves cigarettes, said, "This report really meant something to me as a smoker. I had been thinking, not everybody who smokes gets cancer, they don't really understand it, so maybe it won't happen to me. This explained how it works, and made it more real."

People who want to rationalize smoking may now have to turn to philosophy for solace.

"Theoretically, you can never prove anything," said Dr. Bert Vogelstein, a Johns Hopkins expert in cancer genetics. "No one will ever be able to prove that smoking causes cancer, or that anything causes anything."



Another sellout crowd waits to enter Hell House, a program created by the Abundant Life Christian Center in Arvada, Colo. The 30-minute tour will take visitors to hell and back.



First they see the funeral of a homosexual who has died of AIDS.



At an abortion, they are told, the baby "would have been a preacher."



Demon Dean Purcell taunts a drunk driver who killed his family.



The visitors enter hell, which reeks of Limburger cheese.



But finally, salvation (also, easier breathing) is at hand when visitors arrive in heaven, where Jesus reaches out to save them.

Ghouls And God

Continued From Page 1

the very first time." But opening as they do only at Halloween, the houses and the controversy over them point to a broader debate that, it turns out, has flared on and off in this country for decades: should Halloween be observed at all and, if so, how?

As an event, Halloween is simply a weird day whose parentage cannot be precisely tracked. It has traced its origins to the church (as the eve of All Saint's Day), to Celtic festivals and to harvest celebrations. Now, of course, it is almost completely commercial: a recent study by the National Retail Federation found that Halloween generates more revenue than any other holiday on the calendar save Christmas.

Still, periodically in American history, church leaders have decried what they see as Halloween's glorification of evil and have tried to abolish the day or at least alter its meaning. They were, for instance, a prime force behind the passage of a Senate resolution in 1950 to re-designate Halloween as "Youth Honor Day," noted Kareo Sue Hybertsen, a Presbyterian minister in Ridgeview, N.J., who is the author of a forthcoming book based on her Ph.D. thesis, "The Return of Chaos: the Uses and Interpretations of Halloween in the United States from the Victorian Era to the Present." The resolution failed in the House, and so never made it President Truman's desk.

Also in the 1950's, the American Catholic Church sought to recast Halloween as a vehicle for teaching young children about the saints. Priests tried, without much success, to persuade children to dress as saints rather than as, say, skeletons or vampires.

'Satanic Ritual'

And in 1982, the Rev. Pat Robertson, the founder of the Christian Coalition, described Halloween as a "Satanic ritual," a remark that was widely interpreted as a call for a Halloween boycott. (When he ran for President in 1988 and some people in the news media resurrected his comment in a sort of Grinch-who-stole-Christmas vein, aides to Mr. Robertson said he had never called for an outright ban on trick-or-treating.)

Certainly other cultural forces have been at work in the alteration of Halloween. Fear of crime has led many parents to bring Halloween celebrations indoors. And concerns about poison-candy episodes prompted the Massachusetts House of Representatives to pass a bill prohibiting any "solicitation of food, gifts or other items after sunset under the so-called 'trick-or-treat' custom." After a storm of public outrage and ridicule, the representatives reversed themselves just days later by a 3-to-1 margin.

But in most cases involving crackdowns on Halloween, some religious influences have been present. Just last year, for example, the Los Altos, Calif., school board passed a ban on Halloween celebrations at its elementary schools after some parents complained about the day's Satanic undertones. When hundreds of people, some dressed in costumes, came to a hearing to complain, the board reversed itself. The district superintendent, Margaret Gratiot, said board members had been persuaded that "Halloween is not a religious holiday, just a holiday that is viewed as religious by some people, and there is a difference."

While many experts say that Halloween has grown in popularity because many couples raised in different religions see it as a blessedly nondenominational way to hold a family celebration, there is no question that a growing number of Christians are forsaking any kind of Halloween festivities. But these Christians are split on whether the day should be ignored altogether or seized as an chance to preach the gospel, albeit through messages of terror and specters of hell.

Hell House Outreach Kits

That is where the Hell Houses come in. No one has an exact count, but there are easily hundreds of them, and Abundant Life, an Assemblies of God church, has sold its Hell House Outreach kits to churches in 35 states. It is also exploring translations of the start-up manuals into foreign languages.

These hellish attractions have plenty of critics. A recent "Fright Night" sponsored by a suburban Washington, D.C., church sparked protests from some local parents over the sight of bloodied youth-group members who acted out a car crash and a suicide by handgun, set to the music of Kurt Cobain.

In San Diego a few years ago, visitors to another Hell House erected by a fundamentalist Christian church complained that they were unaware their children would be shown graphic images of aborted fetuses. "Our primary objective is to teach the Gospel," said the pastor in defense. "These are real issues in life, and they have to be addressed."

In time, some churches might even seek to transform Halloween into a specifically religious occasion, perhaps a sort of antithesis of Christmas or Easter. So far they have not. "These churches by and large are taking advantage of a cultural holiday," said Mr. Hybertsen. "I don't think they really intend to incorporate Halloween into their liturgical calendar."

Nonetheless, Mr. Roberts, whose Hell House in suburban Denver starts tours every 12 minutes and has been sold out on several recent nights, strongly defends using Halloween to spread his church's message. The promotional flyer bills the Hell House kit as the most "in your face, high-flyin', no denyin', death-defyin', Satan-be-cryin', keep-ya-from-tryin', no holds barred, 'cutting-edge' evangelism tool of the 90's!"

"We are simply capitalizing, for the sake of the Kingdom of God, on the average American's interest in this type of seasonal attraction," he said. "The church has got to be more creative, more resourceful and more innovative to reach the young people of the sight and sound generation."

"Sometimes I feel like the church is still driving the Model T of communication," he added, "while the rest of the world is driving around in Ferraris to reach their audience."



Now The French post office recently honored the author and philosopher André Malraux with a stamp, but, in accordance with Government anti-smoking laws, removed his cigarette.



What Next? A nicotine-freed Franklin D. Roosevelt? And Winston Churchill sans cigar?

Sanitizing History On a Postage Stamp

LISTEN hard enough and you might hear a faint wheeze and rumbling cough from across the ocean. That's André Malraux rolling over in his grave.

Twenty years after drawing his last breath, the iconoclastic philosopher who gained international fame through novels, including "La Condition Humaine" ("Man's Fate"), is being honored by the French Government with a stamp. But while the portrait, drawn from the famous 1935 photograph by Gisèle Freund, captures Malraux's windswept hair, furrowed brow and probing eyes, his omnipresent cigarette, which dangled like a third lip, has been left out.

The French, however, are simply following America's lead. In 1994 the United States Postal Service removed the cigarette from its picture of blues great Robert Johnson so no one would doubt where it stood on smoking.

While these efforts to stamp out smoking have raised a ruckus about sanitized history, philatelists say they are nothing new.

"Stamps are printed by governments for government purposes, which usually have little connection to reality or truth," said Michael F. Schreiber, a senior editor at Linn's Stamp News of Sidney, Ohio. "They've always been used as propaganda."

In 1933, as Franklin D. Roosevelt proposed a revolutionary expansion of Government to fight the Depression, the Postal Service issued a stamp trumpeting the National Recovery Act. In 1968, when the reputation of the police was under fire, a stamp called "Law and Order" depicted a tall and proud officer, sans nightstick, gently helping a small child.

As the Postal Service continues its mission to inculcate patriotism and wholesome American values, perhaps it should rethink some of its earlier decisions.

For example: While heart disease knocks off countless Americans each year, the proposed "Old Elvis" stamp glamorized the dangerously overweight singer. Does the post office really want children to think peanut butter and bacon sandwiches are good for them? How about a little airbrush liposuction the next time around?

What was the Postal Service thinking in 1980 when it portrayed W.C. Fields in all his sozzled splendor? Or last year, when it honored the famously flirtatious Marilyn Monroe? Is she a proper role model for modern women?

And what if the Postal Service one day gets the notion to honor Jerry Garcia. Well, think again.

J. PEDER ZANE

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The Nation

Who Asked Them? Who Didn't?

By JANNY SCOTT

ANY day now, a reporter will reach for the phone and call a previously undiscovered professor/lawyer/resident scholar, who will say something clever about something or other and land in the reporter's article. The article will alight in a database, where 10 more reporters will find it and reach for the phone. "I read your quote," they will say, by way of introduction. Then they will quote him again.

Television bookers will begin calling. A limousine will arrive. Soon the professor/lawyer/resident scholar will be calling Mr. Koppel "Ted" and will return from lunch one day to find 27 messages from reporters (and one from his mother: Saw you on TV!) calling from places he has never heard of, about subjects he hardly knows. He will hesitate, then pick up the phone.

In a culture in which everyone has to have a line on everything, but few people have time to tangle with real facts, a growth industry has arisen in the output of informed opinions for the rest of us to use. Think of it like, say, take-out food: Who can be bothered to stuff and roast a bird when something roughly comparable, perhaps better, can be had by dialing Chirpin' Chicken?

Election season is, of course, peak season for pundits. Across the country, political reporters are riffling their Rolodexes to O for Ornstein, J for Jamieson, S for Schoeider, M for Mann. "Are you on deadline?" savvy secretaries inquire. On airport pay phones, pundits are calling back reporters, who are calling more pundits. It is like tax season at H & R Block.

There are other varieties of pundit, too: medical-ethics pundits (Arthur Caplan), urban-affairs pundits (Mitchell Moss), O. J. Simpson pundits (Peter Arenella, Roger Cossack, Laurie Levenson et alio). There are even all-purpose pundits. MSNBC has 27 standing by to ruminate about everything from Aleksandr I. Lebed to burgers. They work in three-hour shifts.

If You Can't Beat Them . . .

One of the MSNBC contributors is Eric Alterman, the journalist and one-time anti-pundit who wrote the book "Sound and Fury: The Washington Punditocracy and the Collapse of American Politics" (Harper Perennial, 1993). When his book changed nothing, Mr. Alterman says, he concluded that being a pundit offered the only opportunity for partisan discussion of issues. So why not try to do it well?

Pundits are not born but are made by the media, often to articulate opinions that reporters wouldn't mind delivering if journalistic conventions allowed. Reporters and producers monopolize pundits' time, cannibalize their interviews, quote them too often, turn them into celebrities.

From time to time, the media turn on their pundits. They try to banish old ones and go hunting for replacements. Or they return to the electronic database, plug in

the pundits' names, tally the hits, depose the reigning monarch and smirkingly crown a new "king of quotes." Pundits on the ascent play along with the game. It's flattering. It helps sell books, it buys access to people. Most pundits hope (sometimes against reason) that by talking to reporters, they might fix something, enlighten someone, change someone's mind. Occasionally, they even learn things from reporters.

"The way I think of it," Kathleen Hall Jamieson, dean of the Annenberg School for Communication at the University of Pennsylvania, said, "is that during an election season, I suddenly have a whole cadre of research assistants who only require of me that I reduce complex matters to simplistic sound bites in return for alerting me to information I otherwise might not learn."

But they worry, too — about their time, about their image, about overexposure, about hubris. Will their col-

How the media turn ordinary experts into really overexposed experts.

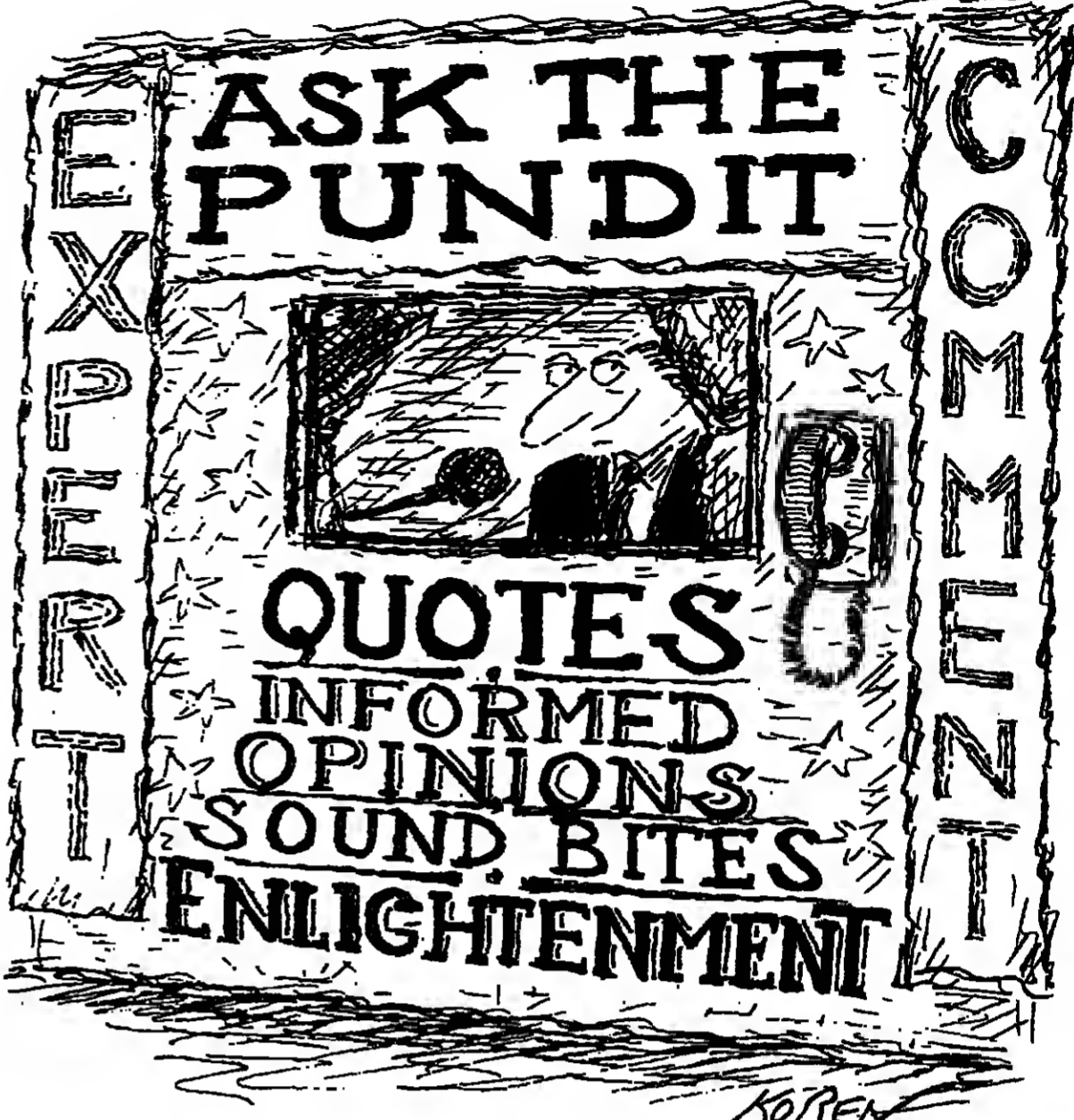
leagues think they have nothing better to do than talk? Will they be seen as popularizers instead of scholars? Will they allow themselves to be seduced into talking about things they know little about — and end up saying something obvious?

Alan Brinkley, the Columbia University historian, remembers a call from a reporter asking him to comment on the increase in millionaires in the United States Senate. Shortly afterward, a friend sent him the front page of a paper from a small town in Illinois. Highlighted in a box, front and center, was the quote: "A million dollars isn't what it used to be." — Alan Brinkley.

"It's very tempting to be the expert on everything," said Stephen Gillers, a professor of law at New York University who happened to develop a specialty in legal ethics about the same time that the media became interested in covering the profession. "I try to avoid that. I don't claim always to have been successful."

The most sought-after pundits tend to be academics or quasi-academics at universities or research centers — preferably in places like Washington and New York that television producers find easy to reach. They have impeccable credentials but still speak plain English. They return phone calls. They like reporters. They tend not to say things like, "Let me rephrase your question."

They are often specialists in subjects that reporters and the public find interesting — like Congress (Norman J. Ornstein and Thomas E. Mann), or political advertising and dirty politics (Ms. Jamieson). They write serious books on accessible subjects, like the 60's (Todd Gitlin).



Despite the accusation that they traffic in banalities, many got their start saying something that was counter-intuitive at one time.

For example: "There's a real purpose" in the media's hounding of Gary Hart over his sex life in a political system in which a President, once elected, is not easily dumped (William Schneider, 1987).

"Prosecuting the Rodney King case is not a 'slam-dunk'" (Peter Arenella, 1991).

"O. J. Simpson will not be 'spending the rest of his life in prison'" (Roger Cossack, June 1994).

That prediction from Mr. Cossack, who was a criminal-defense lawyer practicing in Los Angeles at the time, came at the bottom of a newspaper article published after Mr. Simpson's arrest. Four network TV bookers

immediately called. Mr. Cossack became a commentator during the Simpson trial. Then he gave up his law practice, moved to Washington and became co-host of a legal affairs show, "Burden of Proof," on CNN.

But Mr. Arenella, a law professor at the University of California at Los Angeles who worked 18-hour days as a commentator and ended up in the hospital with pneumonia and 25 pounds thinner, now turns down many interview requests and has come to believe that it is impossible to educate people through television.

In fact, he is writing a book about how the media distort public understanding of the criminal justice system. Someday soon, a reporter will write an article about Mr. Arenella and his book. Another reporter will read it, reach for the telephone and call Mr. Arenella. "I read your quote," the reporter will say.

Why Bob Dole Can't Be Reagan

By SAMUEL G. FREEDMAN

TWO summers ago, early in his latest quest for the Presidency, Bob Dole appeared before a gathering of the Republican National Committee. "I'm willing to be another Ronald Reagan," he offered, "if that's what you want." Of the hundreds of thousands of words the candidate has uttered since then, few pack nearly as much irony.

The conventional understanding of Mr. Dole's promise that day was that he was willing to play down his profile as a compromiser and a budget balancer in the Senate in favor of a more Reaganesque image. With his attacks on Hollywood films as immoral, he suddenly presented himself as a partisan in culture wars waged by the right wing of his party. Then, with his selection of Jack Kemp as running mate and his endorsement of across-the-board tax cuts, Mr. Dole completed his makeover: he reversed his longstanding opposition to supply-side economics.

Mr. Dole's attempts at reinvention have not brought him any closer to unseating President Clinton. And it is not only because Mr. Dole faces a clever incumbent astride a healthy economy. Mr. Dole is a victim of his own biography. His past in Russell, Kan., sets him apart from the demographic forces that brought conservative Republicans to power in the White House and eventually in Congress during the last 25 years. Far from being an heir to the Reagan revolution, he is the inconvenient remnant of an earlier dynasty.

In the script for a Dole victory, Russell was supposed to have symbolized the civic and moral values threatened by the baby-boomer profligacy of Bill Clinton. But there is another way to view Russell: as a town that is ossifying while all around it America changes.

In places like Russell, Republican identity was more a matter of habit than ideology. But just as Mr. Dole was entering national politics in the early 1960's on the strength of his war record, the G.O.P. was recasting itself as a conservative coalition based in the suburbs of the South and West.

Ronald Reagan, more than anyone, added the final, decisive element to the mix of new conservatives — those ethnic Catholics in the urban Northeast and industrial Middle West who came to be called Reagan Democrats. Mr. Reagan took a majority of the Catholic vote in both 1980 and 1984, as did George Bush in 1988 and Republican Congressional candidates in 1994.

Samuel G. Freedman is the author of "The Inheritance: How Three Families and America Moved from Roosevelt to Reagan and Beyond."

Several polls this fall put Mr. Dole at least 20 points behind Mr. Clinton with Catholic voters. And the reasons may be personal as well as political.

Mr. Reagan touched the collective memory of many Democrats because he embodied their experience. The connection went deeper than quoting Franklin D. Roosevelt or Harry S. Truman. As Mr. Reagan often reminded voters, he began his own political career as a New Deal Democrat and a trade unionist. In the late 1940's, he even traveled the nation on behalf of Americans for Democratic Action, the vanguard of the anti-Communist left.

Such credentials allowed Mr. Reagan to hallow the Democratic past while reviling the Democratic present. Though he grew rich as a corporate spokesman and called organized labor a special interest, he could appeal to much of the rank and file. The 1980 Reagan campaign penetrated labor strongholds from Flint to Bayonne and deluged union homes with a mailing touting Mr. Reagan's tenure as a union president. "He led the Screen Actors Guild in its first strike," it read, "and he woo it!"

Mr. Reagan's victories realigned the Republican Party as well as the nation. In his wake, the prototypical Republican candidate in urban states became an ethnic one, usually Catholic. From Attorney General Dan Lungren in California to Gov. Tom Ridge in Pennsylvania, many of the party's rising stars fit the mold. When George E. Pataki upset Mario M. Cuomo to become New York's Governor two years ago, his slate consisted of three Catholics and a Jew, with immigrant roots ranging from Hungary to Ireland.

Casting Aspersions

This was not lost on Mr. Dole. In selecting a running mate, he considered three popular Catholic governors from the Rust Belt — John Engler of Michigan, Tommy Thompson of Wisconsin and George Voinovich of Ohio — before deciding upon Jack Kemp, who calls himself a born-again Christian. Mr. Kemp, a product of Southern California and later a Congressman from blue-collar, suburban Buffalo, himself typified the party's geographical tilt.

But now Mr. Dole's own party is distancing itself from him. Republican candidates for the House, assuming a Clinton victory, are running on a platform of denying the President a Democratic majority in Congress. Mr. Thompson has assailed the Dole campaign (an attack for which he apologized), while Mr. Voinovich has reportedly stopped returning its phone calls.

One might think of the discord as the sound of the generation gap. Or, perhaps, it is the voice of an exasperated director telling an actor he is all wrong for the part.

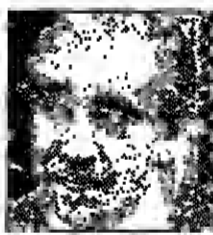
Talking Upheaval on the Hill

Waiting in the Wings

If the Democrats regain control of the House in November, some of the party's most enduring liberal figures will assume control of key committees. Here are a few of the prominent members, with their House tenure and potential portfolios.



Richard A. Gephardt Mo. House Speaker 19 years Presiding over House sessions; referring bills and naming members to committees.



Charles B. Rangel N.Y. Ways and Means 25 years Raising revenue to run Government, and approving taxes and tariffs.



David R. Obey Wis. Appropriations 27 years Setting financing levels for Government agencies and programs.



John D. Dingell Mich. Commerce 41 years Overseeing interstate and foreign commerce, transportation and energy.



George Miller Calif. Resources 21 years Regulating national parks and public lands, mining, wildlife, fisheries and Indian affairs.

Continued From Page 1

on Capitol Hill to check Mr. Clinton. This is what the Speaker told a news conference in Akron last week after accusing Mr. Clinton of campaign law violations:

"You would have two years of a very, very negative Congress with the Democrats in charge, because they would both be covering up the scandals, and they would be engaged in a scale of left-wing legislation that would be frankly, I think very, very destructive for this country."

The hopeful alternative was offered a couple of weeks ago by the Democrat who would replace him as Speaker, Representative Richard A. Gephardt of Missouri. "Nothing important here ever happened that wasn't bipartisan," Mr. Gephardt said. If we win, which I realize is hypothetical, if we had a majority that is made up of 225 Democrats, you couldn't pass anything with Democratic votes alone. So we've got to reach out and get people."

Democrats did not reach out much toward the end of their 40-year grip on the House, which they lost two years ago. In the Senate, where dealing with the minority is always obligatory, Republicans had control from 1981 to 1987, regaining it in 1995.

It is plain that the public wishes the parties would stop their bickering. But after the bitterness of the last few years, that is easier said than done. The harsh language comes not just from Mr. Gingrich; Mr. Gephardt asserts that Republicans returned to power would menace Medicare, the environment and education while cutting taxes for the rich. "Rather than believing that the Republicans have learned their lesson from what has gone on in the last two years," he said, their approach "would be much more frightening and harmful to people than what they have already tried to do."

That is not Mr. Gingrich's prediction. Last week, he said that after the election, a

Speaker Gingrich and President Clinton would make a "very carefully bipartisan" effort to fix Medicare's shaky finances.

There is a certain amount of election-season scurrying going on, but there is also enormous distrust on Capitol Hill, and it is likely to worsen as the shouters, like Senator Rick Santorum of Pennsylvania, gain influence, while those who thrived on bipartisan agreements, like William Cohee of Maine or even Bob Dole, retire.

Representative Jim Leach of Iowa, the chairman of the Banking Committee, predicts that if Democrats retake the House,

If Democrats win the House: Chastened bipartisanship? Chaos?

the narrowness of their majority will mean nothing because they will suddenly "understand the importance of discipline." And he predicted that "every single vested interest will expect to be rewarded" with spending increases. "It's the nature of the Democratic Party," he said.

The Republican National Committee has a flyer out denouncing Democrats in line for chairmanships, including Charles B. Rangel of New York (Ways and Means), David R. Obey of Wisconsin (Appropriations) and John D. Dingell of Michigan (Commerce). Another of their devil figures is George Miller of California, the senior Democrat on the Resources Committee, which has a vast environmental workload. Last week, Mr. Miller scoffed at the argument that he and other chairmen would take a radical tack. "That's not the way the House works," he

said. "That's the way they thought it worked when they took it over, so they had a very extreme agenda." And, pointing to the issue that first cracked the solid Republican front in the House, he said, "I'm in the wonderful position that with respect to environment and resources, their agenda was rejected in the Congress overwhelmingly."

Mr. Mann, the director of governmental affairs at Brookings, agrees. "The liberal nightmare is preposterous," he said. "There is not much liberal chairman can do on their own. They can't get things out of their committee. They certainly can't produce legislation that can survive on the floor." Mr. Mann said he anticipated "a modest agenda that is synchronized with Clinton."

Actually, the Democrats are already trying. On Thursday, Senator Christopher Dodd of Connecticut, general chairman of the Democratic National Committee, sent all Democratic congressional candidates a memorandum promising that "we plan to put educational opportunity at the top of our priority list." Education was the other issue on which Republicans broke ranks early in the 104th Congress; their pollsters find it as popular as Democratic pollsters do.

Deciding to start with a modest, moderate agenda could be much easier than sticking to it. If the Democrats regain the House, for example, the \$35 million effort by the A.F.L.-C.I.O. to defeat Republican freshmen will have played a decisive role. It will take remarkable statesmanship for labor not to call in some chits, even at the risk of splintering a fragile new Democratic majority.

But if the Democrats prevail in the House — a contest that is a tossup with perhaps a slim Republican advantage from incumbency — one major combatant will absent himself from the battle, making it surely less interesting. Mr. Gingrich has made it clear that he would not seek the job of minority leader and would leave the task of regaining power to someone else.

The World

The New Latin Ideology: Get Real

By LARRY ROHTER

NOW that a coffee grower has trounced an erstwhile revolutionary in Nicaragua's presidential election, all three of the Central American countries wracked by leftist insurrection throughout the 1970's and 1980's will be governed by right-wing presidents.

In Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala 15 years ago, the gun had great appeal as a weapon to force change from rightist autocrats who staged rigged elections. But now that fair balloting is ascendant, conservatives are too. Some of this is not surprising. Voters want predictability in their lives, especially after so much turmoil, and they seem to believe the right when it promises more security. And in rural areas where the left once offered the only hope for change, there is another attraction: the more thoughtful politicians on the right seem to have learned the wisdom of land reform.

So, in a number of ways, in both urban and rural areas, pragmatism appears finally to be triumphing over ideology in Central America, and in much of the rest of Latin America as well.

Coincidentally or not, all three of Central America's recently elected right-wing presidents have come to power after serving as mayor of their country's capital city. In those positions, they were able, with the benefit of intense media exposure, to establish their credibility with voters by grappling effectively with the non-ideological, day-to-day problems that seem to matter most to voters — crime, transportation, sewage, electricity and water.

Focusing on Tangibles

The winner in Nicaragua last week was Arnaldo Alemán, a lawyer, landowner and a member of the upper-class elite who, proudly and unabashedly, cast himself as the antithesis of his opponent, Daniel Ortega Saavedra, the Sandinista leader and former President. "Arnaldo Alemán built us parks and paved streets and painted the markets," said Alba Rosa Orozco Narvaez, a 38-year-old Managua food vendor who is exactly the sort of working-class voter the Latin American left tends to view as its natural constituency. "He was the best mayor Managua has had in my lifetime, and that's why I think he will be a good President."

Similarly, Ecuador's new populist President, Abdalá Bucaram, was once mayor of Guayaquil, that nation's largest city. And the mayors of Lima, La Paz, Bogotá, Caracas and São Paulo are all touted as presidential timber in their countries. Eduardo Gamarra, head of Latin American studies at Florida International University, said the diversity of their views suggests that Latin American politicians are best advised to focus on "tangible things that render ideology useless and establish a much more direct and democratic contact with the constituent."

Poll results published here just before the election provided startling support for the



Rightist candidates have succeeded in Central America because they have become more enlightened toward peasants, like these in Guatemala, and offer them greater stability.

option that voters will flock to those who offer them personal and financial stability, regardless of ideology. Asked which period of their country's recent history was the best, a plurality of Nicaraguans, roughly 40 percent, chose the dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza Debayle over both the 11 years of the Sandinista Revolution and those that followed in 1990 under the centrist Violeta Chamorro.

"Well, of course, because back in Somoza's days your salary was really worth something, and if you kept your nose clean, the political problems were minimal," Guillermo Ramirez Ayaala, a 38-year-old jeweler, argued. "Today is almost the same as during the Sandinista times, because inflation has made everything expensive, there is a lot of unemployment and wages are miserable."

In the countryside too, a similar pragmatism may finally be starting to prevail. "The old model in which peasant groups were locked out has collapsed," said John A. Booth, co-editor of "Elections and Democracy in Central America." The old landowner-military coalition has discovered that "it's cheaper and easier all the way around to try to buy these guys out than freeze them out."

Asian Lesson

Many in the Central American business elite have learned an important lesson from the emergence of Asian economic powers like Japan, Taiwan and Korea: land reform can be done from the right and used to turn disgruntled subsistence farmers into consumers with a stake in the capitalist system. Or as El Salvador's right-wing Arena party

likes to put it, "We want a revolution out of revolucionarios but of propietarios."

"By giving the peasant land and the title to it, you are creating landowners and doing away with a rural proletariat tied to the land," Dr. Gamarra said. "You are also creating a conservative political force, because these become people who, because they are now landholders, don't want some guy coming in from outside and saying he's going to redistribute the land."

Of course, it has often been argued that as largely rural societies, the nations of Central America are inherently conservative. Latin American peasants, though deeply resentful of the exploitation to which they have been subjected since colonial days, are deeply religious and almost mystically wedded to the land, especially the parcel they them-

selves till, and anyone who fails to recognize that pays a high political cost.

"A lot of beneficiaries of the Sandinista land reform ended up voting for Alemán because they now have a huge vested interest" in preserving the status quo, Dr. Booth noted. "When allowed to produce, peasants work hard and are not very political. But when their livelihood is threatened by instability or government policy changes, they can become extremely volatile politically, in either direction."

"In this case, they went left, then right, because the source of the threat to them changed," he continued. "By doing this giant favor of giving peasants the land but not making their titles secure, the Sandinistas, ironically and sadly for them, wound up alienating the very people they benefited."

Chirac in Israel

Well, Palestinians Enjoyed His Visit

By SERGE SCHMEMANN

HAD he been the president of any country other than France, Jacques Chirac might have provoked considerably more fury in Israel.

While the United States special envoy, Dennis Ross, was working day and night with Israeli and Palestinian negotiators to get a deal on a withdrawal of Israeli troops from Hebron, and while Israelis were preparing to mark the troubling anniversary of Yitzhak Rabin's assassination, Mr. Chirac showed up in Israel and the West Bank, where he threw his support four-square behind the Palestinians and touched a number of raw Israeli nerves.

He harangued his Israeli security guards for being too rough in the Old City of Jerusalem, and he addressed the Palestinian legislature but not the Israeli Parliament. He reiterated his call for a Palestinian state and endorsed virtually every other Palestinian claim, down to the most sensitive of all, a capital in Jerusalem. "There cannot be a peace that excludes the city of peace, Jerusalem," he declared to rousing applause in the West Bank city of Ramallah.

Not surprisingly, Yasir Arafat and the Palestinians were rapturous. Thousands of children lined Mr. Chirac's route through Ramallah, and a beaming Mr. Arafat proclaimed the French President as "the hope for a better tomorrow."

A Surprising Apology

More surprising was the equanimity, in public at least, of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. He apologized to Mr. Chirac for the security flap in the Old City, saying that the bodyguards had been too zealous in protecting a "friend."

One possible reason was that personal relations between the two men were said to be warm, dating back to contacts before either was elected to his present post.

Another may have been that Israel and the United States were not entirely shocked by Mr. Chirac's stance.

France has long made a policy of challenging American leadership in foreign affairs, dating to the days when Charles de Gaulle kept France out of the NATO military structure. Under Mr. Chirac, the Middle East has been the particular focus of that approach. The president's determination to carve out an independent role in the Arab-Israeli conflict was already apparent last spring, during the Israeli attack on Lebanon,



President Jacques Chirac of France pushing away an Israeli bodyguard in Jerusalem.

when the French Foreign Minister, Herve de Charette, came to the region and insisted on a French role in the peacemaking.

The stance obviously annoyed the Israelis and Americans, but the reaction in Jerusalem seemed to reflect a resigned sense that the French will be French, and that Mr. Chirac's actions were probably less a reflection of hostility to Israel than vintage Gaullist posturing — as well as a bid to win favor, and trade, with the Arabs.

Frozen Smiles

The other question was whether the intrusion into Israeli-Palestinian affairs could help or damage the process.

In public, the Israelis and Americans politely suggested that they had no use for any French or European intervention. Mr. Ross, who has been

feverishly mediating an elusive deal on Hebron during the last three weeks, put it diplomatically. "Right now," he said, "I think that it is generally agreed, not only by the parties, but by others, that the effort that we are making is the one that they support." Mr. Netanyahu was briefer: "Too many cooks spoil the broth."

The apprehension among Israelis was that Mr. Arafat would take the French support to heart and harden his negotiating positions. But like Israel's Arab neighbors, Mr. Arafat has long understood that if anyone has any leverage over Israel, it is the United States. In fact, if he was holding out on Hebron, as Israeli negotiators charged, it was probably in the hope that the Americans could get him a better deal after the elections in the United States.

In the meantime, if nothing else, Mr. Chirac's words offered a bit of sweet music for the ears of Mr. Arafat's less-than-patient constituents.

Settling for Truth In Place of Justice

Continued From Page 1

der Merwe, the former chief of South Africa's police, and he confessed. Then he named the two Cabinet level officials who gave him orders. The veil of secrecy around the top levels of the former government was lifting, and commission officials were openly delighted.

The hearing that followed offered scenes of extraordinary callousness. A police colonel, for example, described his role in the disappearance of three well-known activists. He and his men held a barbecue while the prisoners, their torture sessions over, sat nearby with hoods over their heads, able to smell the food and hear the chatter. They were shot afterward, the colonel assumed.

Who's Scared Now?

"Look at them up there," said Russell Ally, who works for the commission. "They are scared and they are telling us everything. The courts could not achieve this."

Indeed, a truth commission is not bound by rules of evidence, so there can be far freer testimony as to what happened and to whom. Victims do not have to fear rigorous cross examinations. And perpetrators may actually be eager to make sure that all their crimes have been aired, so that nothing is left for prosecutors to pursue.

"In many ways, a truth commission can be far more inclusive," said Richard Goldstone, a South African judge who stepped down recently as prosecutor in the Balkan and Rwanda war crimes tribunals.

But even avid proponents of truth commissions acknowledge that they are a complex and contradictory business. They are supposed to heal, but in producing truth they unearth traumas. How, for example, can someone hearing the coldness of the barbecue incident be expected to forgive? What does a society have to be made of in order to turn such bitter narratives toward healing rather

than revenge?

In fact, different societies have very different attitudes about this. In Argentina, a commission documented the military's "Dirty War" against the left in the 1970's. Today, most of the officers involved have been pardoned, coup attempts seem to have ended, and most citizens accept that the Dirty War is in the past.

But other countries appear to have moved past a period of violence and human rights abuses without either tribunals or truth commissions. Mozambique, Namibia and Zimbabwe are examples.

"Some countries don't equate reconciliation with dredging up what happened," said Priscilla Hayner, who is writing a book on truth commissions and recently visited Mozambique. "There, reconciliation has been about letting go."

Clearly, searching out who did what and offering forgiveness may be far more of a balm for some lands than others. South Africa remains a society deeply divided — not by law any more, but still by language, wealth, custom and religion.

How victims react to the truth has varied greatly.

Applause and Silence

When the army general confessed last month that he had given the order to fire on demonstrators at Bisho, he said he was sorry and the audience applauded. "It was an incredible moment," said Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who heads the truth Commission. "I said we should just keep quiet a bit and we put our heads down for a minute."

But two weeks later, when the police captain admitted his role in the shooting of 13 people in a hut near Pietermaritzburg, and with a steady gaze turned to the victims' family to ask forgiveness, the reaction was different. There was a low grumble from about 30 villagers, who later made their feelings plain: What had been done in Pietermaritzburg could never be healed by any amnesty.

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Family Tries to Restore The House of Rothschild

By YOUSSEF M. IBRAHIM

GO back to the 1880's, at Waddesdon Manor, one of more than 45 mansions once owned by the legendary Rothschild banking family. A typical day, the story goes, began with a servant entering a guest's bedroom. Would the guest like tea, coffee or cocoa? If tea, what kind? With milk, cream or lemon? Milk? Would that be Jersey. Hereford or shorthorn? By all accounts, a guest's reception at a Rothschild home is still elegant today. But a certain time in history has passed, and with it the perfect projection of power and generosity found at the dynasty's zenith, when those gently awakened at the 223-room Waddesdon Manor included Prime Ministers of Britain and a Shah of Persia. The manor, indeed, is no longer a Rothschild home; it went to the National Trust in 1955. The great question now is what is to become of the House of Rothschild itself. For while any family, business or industry can have a bad year, the Rothschilds, financiers of kings and princes when Europe was a royal family affair, have had a bad century. The fortune has shrunk as world wars battered the Rothschilds' banks; revolution in Czarist Russia killed their best client, and French Socialists nationalized their Paris bank. Some of the brightest sons went their own way to earn renown as

scientists, poets and wine makers. Family feuds sent off others who, as competitors, outdid those who stayed in the fold in terms of wealth and reputation. A 253-year-old banking dynasty has been wined (Chateau Lafite, Chateau Mouton) and vacation resorts (Club Méditerranée), the Rothschilds are now drawing together to show that today's global banks have not eclipsed their family, as nations have done away with kingdoms. To succeed is more than a matter of banking strategy. Just as important, the English and French branches of the family must be reunited by welcoming the head of the French bank, Baron David de Rothschild, as the next head of the much larger and more prestigious London bank, N.M. Rothschild & Sons. Only a few years ago, that was unthinkable. In a rare interview here on Friday, David, and the man who invited him to cross the Channel, Sir Evelyn Rothschild, the head of N.M. Rothschild, said that the London and Paris banks had become partners again, in a way not seen since the first generations of Rothschilds invented international banking. Uniting the family to join London's financial expertise with Paris's continental contacts, Sir Evelyn said, is crucial if the Rothschilds are to adapt to changing financial markets and intense competition from multinational banks. "The first important strength of the family is unity," he said. "The point I am trying to make is that today we're one. As you sit here and you talk to me, you are talking to

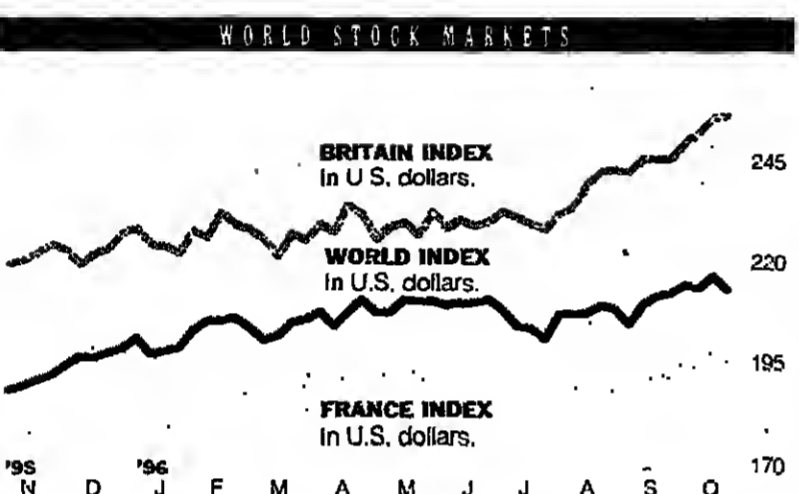
David, and if you talk to David you are talking to me." To that, Sir Evelyn's French cousin added, "Never has the collaboration between the French and British Rothschilds been so good, except possibly in the very beginning." What changed? Among the branches, London has suffered least from the force of history, but it has felt the effects of the thinning of the Rothschilds' banking blood. During Sir Evelyn's tenure at N.M. Rothschild, several stellar bankers have left to become successful elsewhere, including the talented Jacob, who is now Lord Rothschild, a potential successor whom Evelyn saw as a rival. N.M. Rothschild was also the unhappy home of Jacob's half brother, Amshel, who was compelled by his father to carry on the business, despite having no enthusiasm for it and little skill. In July, apparently overwhelmed by the death of his mother, he ended a business meeting in Paris, went to his hotel room and hanged himself. He was 41. Amshel had long ago ceased to be seen as a possible successor to Evelyn, but his death put a focus on the future of the dynasty. There was the choice seen as inevitable by those in the banking world: ceding the House of Rothschild to a manager from outside, as other European family banks like Schroders have done. And there was David, consummately charming and highly competent, but from the wrong branch of the family. Evelyn, though, had brought David into N.M. Rothschild four years earlier as deputy chairman. And this month he appointed his cousin, whom he is said not only to admire, but to like, as chairman of a global committee to coordinate Rothschild investment banking around the world. After a century of enormous individualism and too-evident mediocrity, yet continued flashes of brilliance, the Rothschilds appear ready to carry on in a way that much younger banking families like the Barings and Morgans have not.



Baron David de Rothschild

Then the Depression bore down. As Nazism took control of Germany, Austria, and in the end even France, the family withdrew. At the end of World War II Europe had changed again, half of it behind the Iron Curtain. By the 1970's, the House of Rothschild comprised three much smaller banks, N.M. Rothschild in London, Banque Rothschild in Paris, and a Swiss bank founded by the family's most independent and wealthiest member, Baron Edmond de Rothschild. In 1980, Jacob, the English branch's most highly regarded banker, left N.M. Rothschild after Sir Evelyn, its largest shareholder, rejected his proposal to reinvestigate the bank with outside money. A year later, the French Government nationalized the Paris bank and barred the Rothschilds not only from banking, but from using their family name in business. By then, the contrast between the fortunes of Rothschilds who had made their own way, and those who had stayed strictly in the family, seemed stark. Jacob was prospering in investment banking, while the London bank, N.M. Rothschild, stagnated. In France, Baron Edmond de Rothschild's bank had prospered under both conservative and Socialist governments, while miscalculations by his cousin, Baron Guy de Rothschild, had actually contributed to the nationalization of Banque Rothschild. As always with the Rothschilds, the divisions had not been strictly over business. As the family grew and its members' interests and aptitudes diverged, jealousies, egos and rivalries played their role. Though it is a Rothschild rule not to air family matters, wounded pride counts a great deal. But questions of strategy and succession loomed as Jacob went off on his own, as his half brother Amshel was made to give up farming and car racing for an unwanted banking career, and as Guy moved to the United States, leaving behind no Rothschild bank in France.

Despite the growing distance between some Rothschilds, the bankers had always invested in one another. David's cousin in Switzerland, Edmond, helped by taking a 10 percent stake in the new French bank. David dabbled in real estate and small mergers. In 1986 Edmond helped again, successfully urging France's Finance Minister, Edouard Balladur, to end the prohibition barring the family from using its name in business. David moved quickly, forming Rothschild & Cie. Banque, and attracting merger-and-acquisition clients including British Airways and the financier Sir James Goldsmith. David brought in experienced bankers from prestigious institutions, including the Government, and has built his merchant bank into France's second largest. His goal, David said, was to "be the best" in a few areas, an echo of Edmond's description of his own highly successful Swiss bank, Compagnie Financière Edmond de Rothschild Banque: "Small is beautiful." But while Edmond prospered, delighting in his independence, he also smarted at the insinuations conjured up in family references to him as "le petit Edmond," when real Rothschild men were known to be tall. In contrast, Baron David de Rothschild was more open to closer family relationships. In 1992, Sir Evelyn made David deputy chairman of N.M. Rothschild, even though he was not a shareholder. And this month David took charge of a new initiative to coordinate the family's investment banking offices around the world. "David rebuilt," Sir Evelyn said. "I think to have started a new institution, with some support from the family, and create something in 15 years, is a remarkable achievement. He has managed to encroach on Lazard Brothers and do very well, not only in France but in the rest of Europe." And it is rebuilding that the House of Rothschild needs now, Sir Evelyn said, to keep pace with rivals as the asset-management business and corporate finance grow. The obvious solution is to bring together its branches as active partners. "The Rothschild family success 100 years ago was European," he said. "We were the No. 1 bank in Europe up until World War I. After that there was a great decline because of the problems of the war period and the 30's. We have moved today out of Europe and into the world as a whole, where I think we can hold our head up." Sir Evelyn added, "I'd like to think as we go into the 21st century, they will say that the last quarter of the 20th century was a renaissance for the Rothschilds, a new opportunity and growth which was second to none." David listened and then added his own thoughts, speaking in French: "The personal links between Evelyn and I are very strong, but the business links are very important because we blend, if you like, two cultures." "We blend the phenomenally qualified financial skills of the London team, which happens to be outstandingly good, with a great expertise of Continental Europe." Uniting the London and Paris banks would give the House of Rothschild a capital base of more than \$1 billion, the cousins said, putting it in a league with A.G. Edwards Inc., which ranks 15th in capital in the United States. The family expects to compete in most of the world with financial giants like Merrill Lynch & Company and Morgan Stanley & Company, though not in the United States, where the Rothschilds have a small but successful New York investment bank. "I think we can compete with them outside the United States," Sir Evelyn said. In Europe, Rothschild intends to compete both with continental investment houses and with Japanese banks. It plans to expand its own Asian presence by opening an office in China. And the benefits of cooperation among Rothschild offices around the world have already been proved. Privatization has been a Rothschild specialty since the Thatcher administration in Britain. Indeed, last year, Rothschild offices worldwide were said to participate in the sale of 60 government businesses, more than any other investment bank. Part of that success comes from greater coordination among Rothschild offices in Europe and the Americas that has produced business that the family might otherwise not have received. Recently the Rothschilds used their international presence to assist in the privatization of Fiji Telecom. The project involved Rothschild offices in Britain, the United States and Australia. "If any one of us had gone after the business by ourselves, I doubt we would have gotten the job," said Wilbur L. Ross Jr., senior managing director of the New York investment bank, Rothschild Inc. Preserving the world's oldest — and last — family-owned investment bank may depend ultimately, however, on whether family dynamics can adapt to rapidly changing financial markets as quickly as institutions managed by professionals. To many observers, the question is whether Sir Evelyn, whose determination to keep family control has driven other talented bankers from N.M. Rothschild, will allow David to realize his ambitions. While it seems all but certain that David will be Sir Evelyn's successor, neither would say so. "Anyone in this place, which is based on meritocracy, and in Paris, can become senior person without having the name Rothschild attached to them," Sir Evelyn said. David added, "In our organizations you don't advance just because you are a Rothschild, but because you are good." The evidence in this century, however, is mixed. Amshel was dragged into N.M. Rothschild by his father, Victor Rothschild, who near his death implored Amshel to leave his gentleman's farm and join the bank. But Victor opposed his other son, the enthusiastic banker Jacob, in his efforts to open N.M. Rothschild to public offerings. A hero in the financial district, Jacob took a small part of the bank, the Rothschild Investment Fund, and quickly made it profitable through associations with insurers, stockbrokers and even Sotheby's, the auction house. But bankers familiar with the dispute say Sir Evelyn disapproved, fearing that the Rothschild name would be cheapened by Jacob's alliances. Meanwhile, Amshel managed the bank's money management business known as Rothschild Asset Management and watched its losses grow. By April, three months before his suicide, they reached \$10 million, compared with \$700,000 the previous year. "Amshel hated his job," said an investment banker who had worked with Amshel at N.M. Rothschild, and who spoke on the condition of anonymity. "It was quite obvious he wasn't good at it, but it had to be a Rothschild because of this thing about family control." Another banker who knows the family, also speaking on the condition of anonymity, said: "They don't pick people on the basis of ability. They pick people they like to be with." In Baron David de Rothschild, however, the family does not have simply the only available Rothschild male, but someone who sees the future and can take his family to it — if Sir Evelyn treats him as a partner, rather a rival — observers say. "David has changed the way the bank works," said Herbert Lotman, author of "The French Rothschilds," who has spent hundreds of hours interviewing David, Edmond, and other family members. "He learned how to choose good outside managers without losing the company to them. That is a very important transition for the Rothschilds." The Rothschilds also have certain advantages because of their name and their reputation: the banking house has never been touched by scandal. "Above all, the Rothschild name signifies our motto, which is 'Integrity above all,'" Sir Evelyn said. "Integrity to the people you employ, and integrity to the customer you serve. And that is the No. 1 question mark in today's world." Mr. Ross, of the New York offices, knows the power of the family name, because for years his operation didn't use it. In 1982, as soon as New Court Securities became Rothschild Inc., he said with a smile, "It was much easier to get people to return your calls. Since we became Rothschild Inc. I have never been asked, 'What is your balance sheet?'"



Prepared by Goldman, Sachs & Co. using data derived from the Financial Times/Standard & Poor's Actuaries World Indices, a measure of stock market performance. The FT indices are compiled jointly by The Financial Times Limited, Goldman, Sachs & Co. and Standard & Poor's, in conjunction with the Institute of Actuaries and Faculty of Actuaries.

Table with 10 columns: Country, Index, Week % Chg., Rank, YTD % Chg., Rank, YTD Dividend Yield, Index, YTD % Chg., Rank. Lists countries like Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Britain, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Malaysia, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Philippines, Singapore, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Thailand, United States.

Table with 5 columns: Region, Index, Week % Chg., Rank, YTD % Chg., Rank. Lists Europe, Pacific Basin, Europe/Pacific, World.

Table with 5 columns: Exchange rate, Friday, Last Friday, Week % Chg., Year Ago. Lists Japanese yen to the U.S. dollar, German marks to the U.S. dollar, Canadian dollars to the U.S. dollar, U.S. dollars to the British pound.

Oct. 21-25: 'Correction' Is the Word of the Week, as Stock and Bond Markets Retreat

Market summary section including: PRICES (DOMESTIC EQUITIES, DOMESTIC BONDS, AROUND THE WORLD), YIELDS (BONDS, OTHER INVESTMENTS), and 90-DAY RELATIVE TREND graphs for various market indices.



THE JERUSALEM POST

or Truth of Justice

Applause and Silence

When Superstores Were Truly Super

By Wendy Wasserstein

My mother tells me we never shopped at S. Klein's on Union Square. J.W. Mays on 14th Street, yes; Orbach's on 34th Street, yes. And E.J. Korvette's, occasionally, although only after it moved to Fifth Avenue. My mother further reminds me that when we did stop in at discount stores like Mays (as best as I can recall, the jingle went, "At Mays each day is sale day all day long/And 20 million customers can't be wrong") or Orbach's, we shopped only in the exclusive sections where every saleswoman knew us by sight. Frankly, I believe my mother has a selective memory. Not only do I remember shopping with her at Klein's; I remember the emphasis she placed on our innate superiority because we shopped not at the main store but at the lonier Klein's Annex next door. I can still recognize the value of a finely ripped label, indicating designer goods at final mark-down prices. (I just know my mother is shuddering as she reads this.)

Our most consistent and successful shopping expeditions, however, were to Orbach's on 34th Street. As far as I was concerned, graduating departments at Orbach's was a better indication of coming of age than was, say, moving on to algebra. It was a triumph never to have to return to the sleep-away camp section and to move from Girls to Pre-Teen. Most important, for a Brooklyn girl in the eighth grade, taking the subway into Manhattan to Orbach's demonstrated a cosmopolitan sophistication and a deep and abiding maturity far beyond even that required to read "Franny and Zooey."

My family moved to the Upper East Side when I entered high school, putting an end to our mother-daughter shopping expeditions. I learned to sign my own charge slips at Saks and Bloomingdale's, writing "daughter" in parentheses. Orbach's, Mays and even Klein's Annex folded. Of course, I know my family's move didn't cause them to close — there are too many statistics about suburban flight for me to be quite so narcissistic. But I have often worried about how future generations of New York children would fare without similar experiences of shopping for socks with mother.

Now the megastore has returned. Kmart has finally opened on 34th Street (with another store soon to come in the East Village). So those of us who never fled to suburbia can now purchase 35 Hefty bags for only \$5, a bra for \$4.99 and a plausible imitation of a \$200 Coach bag for under \$20. Anyone can purchase not only a childhood but an entire lifetime at Kmart — from baby clothes to teen-age sportswear to the perfect starter farmhouse table (just \$164.99).

Apparently Kmart, which is suffering from competition by rival megastores in its traditional suburban strongholds, considers Manhattan a renaissance opportunity. Pedestrian traffic is in; parking lots are, if not passed, overworked.

Just like Bradlees and Toys "R" Us at Union Square, Kmart is a reminder that regular people live in Manhattan. Not everyone in the city

Wendy Wasserstein's next play will be "An American Daughter."

is planning to purchase a copy of Annette Bening's Oscar dress at Giorgio Armani. In fact, I recently saw a very nice Armani-esque sleeveless number with sequins at Kmart for \$39.99.

Any kid who grew up in the city before the arrival of McDonald's and the "big box" stores selling books, beds and bath towels can tell you how strange a first trip to a shopping mall was. For us, shopping was synonymous with striding through the city. And one day we could cruise a Fifth Avenue department store, just like Lauren Bacall in a career gal movie, and later spend hours in an Eighth Street bookshop, displaying a genuine interest in the poetry of Allen Ginsberg.

In the city our shopping opportunities seemed limitless. In the city our shopping opportunities had history. We never chose a restaurant because it looked like all other restaurants. We chose it because it was different.

So the slight anxiety I had at Kmart while inspecting the AB-Abdominal Roller (complete with power stand and a guarantee of results in four weeks) was not over whether I

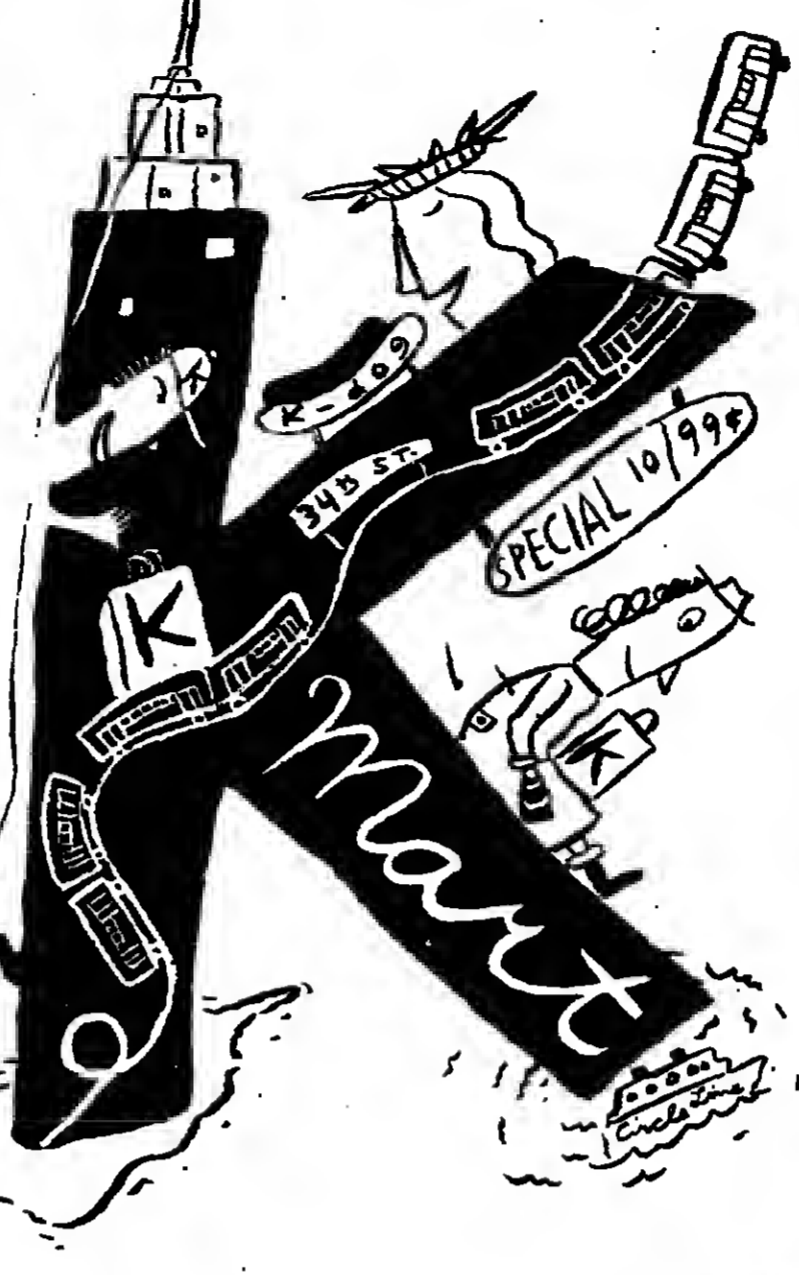
would have a washboard stomach but whether bringing shopping mall retailing into the city was completely desirable. This is a town of characters. You would never meet Nathan Detroit at a Starbucks counter.

Of course, not only the low end of retail has succumbed to the big-box trend. About the same time Kmart anchored itself on 34th Street, Giorgio Armani opened his cool and elegant 28,000-square-foot boutique on Madison Avenue. And just as there's a Gap next to every Banana Republic, Valentino and Etro arrived shortly after Armani opened.

Can Kmart replace Orbach's, Klein's and J.W. Mays?

In fact, one of my burning questions in the last years before the millennium is, Who shops at the sparkling, two-tiered Luca Luca on Madison Avenue? Is there really such a rush for evening gowns costing thousands of dollars and available only in size 4?

To keep the city from losing its unique shopping attributes and becoming merely another outpost of mall culture, I suggest a mixer among the new arrivals. For in-



stance, Hefty bags could be sold alongside cashmere sweaters at Armani. Or the Luca Luca lime-green suit could be a blue-light special at Kmart — \$17.99 including matching wig and imitation-Prada purse. If a pair of rattlesnake-skin Gucci trousers (with the label nicely ripped) sat on a Gap rack, a sense of the inevitable would be eliminated.

As for myself, in the midst of all the enormous new possibilities, I have decided that smaller is better. I am now frequenting the corner bookstore, the same local restaurant and a dress shop called Betsy.

Anytime a shopkeeper says, "It's nice to see you again," I think to myself, Thank you for remembering me; I want to shop here the rest of my life. Perhaps I feel that way because the saleswomen at Orbach's knew my mother by sight. City life is made up of such small daily alliances. What would happen if there were no local store owner to notice that you hadn't been around for a few days?

Of course, my yearnings for the personal shopping experience are as much a trend as preferring to see plays rather than "Twister" and "Independence Day." The movement toward not just bigger but behemoth seems unstoppable.

In Seattle recently, I went to the REI store, which sells everything any outdoorsperson could want. But even better, in the middle of the store there's a mountain to climb and a stream to relax by. There is even a

shower where one can test Gore-Tex outdoor gear before a trip down the Colorado.

Perhaps when the folks at Wal-Mart finally get to our island, they shouldn't hold back. Yes, it's important to have bargains. We want Hefty bags for \$2.99! But can't the store also have a model of the Empire State Building for New Yorkers to climb? If these superstores are going to change the city, they should at least make it memorable.

Liberties

MAUREEN DOWD

Valley Boy

LOS ANGELES

Talk about your grapes of wrath. The Republican scold, who has been blaming voters, the liberal media and even the conservative media for his own anemic performance, is conjuring his improbable quest to win the sunshine state.

Though he shares a philosophy with valley girls — "whatever" — Bob Dole is too coiled to be a California guy. Nonetheless, he is making his last stand here, spending \$4 million and several days to woo the original Reagan Democrats.

He went to Northern California yesterday for a bus tour of farming towns in the San Joaquin Valley, towns with

chance to label someone else weird and inconsequential. (It would have been a smarter tactical move to try to persuade Mr. Clinton to drop out.)

It was, like, way stupid. While Mr. Dole was out telling Americans to "wake up," a gleeful Ross Perot was back in Washington, delivering what should have been Mr. Dole's campaign speech — a scalding, comprehensive attack on the ethics of the Clinton White House.

After Nixon's fall, Mr. Reagan gave Republicans the blueprint for electoral success: Lower taxes, less government, the rhetoric of tolerance and inclusivity (camouflaging the policies of intolerance and exclusivity). But where the former Governor of California offered a shining city on a hill, the former Senator from Kansas offers a surly city in a valley. He warns we risk "going to hell in a handbasket."

He represents not Reagan's California but Nixon's, not Pacific Palisades but San Clemente. He rants against nattering nabobs and voters who soon won't have him to kick around anymore. He rails against affirmative action and illegal immigration, the kind of dark wedge issues Mr. Nixon and his protégé, Gov. Pete Wilson, deftly employed.

"Affirmative action and illegal immigration — Ronald Reagan wouldn't have touched either of those issues," said one top Republican. "He preached inclusivity."

Mr. Nofziger, who worked for Mr. Reagan in California and Washington, thinks the franchise is lost. "Ronald Reagan spoiled us," he says. "He had been a candidate with such flair."

Mr. Clinton has worked hard to emulate the Reagan flair: his walk, his salute, his warmth, his anecdotes. "Clinton has taken the essence of Ronald Reagan, a man without guile, and turned it into an art form," complains Mr. Merksamer, a Reagan delegate at three conventions. "It's simply perverse."

Because President Reagan was detached, his staff tended to read things into his nods and winks. But his ideas were fixed. Because Mr. Dole is detached, with no fixed ideas, his staff fills up the vacuum with infighting and finger-pointing.

After the election, the G.O.P. itself will fall into infighting and finger-pointing. Bob Dole, who never stirred any emotion as a candidate, will leave behind a surfeit of emotion, as Republicans scratch and struggle to revive themselves, again.

Bedtime for Bonzo. Whatever.

names like Visalia and Selma and Merced and Modesto, where they harvest grapes and raisins and almonds. The farmers believe the Government meddles too much, coddling endangered species like the kangaroo rats burrowing in the soil and the fairy shrimp floating in puddles.

"Talking to a wheat farmer in Kansas is not so different from talking to a grape grower in Fresno," says Steven Merksamer, a Sacramento lawyer close to Jack Kemp who pressed for the Dole ticket to fight here.

At first, the idea of jumping in so late to contest California seemed absurd. Then again, Mr. Dole's endgame does offer a fearful symmetry.

This is the place where Ronald Reagan brought the Republican Party back to life. And this is the place where Bob Dole will take the life out of the party.

Both men exhibited amazing instincts in their campaigns. Mr. Reagan instinctively did everything right. Mr. Dole instinctively did everything wrong.

Republicans agree with Lyn Nofziger, Mr. Dole's sometime adviser, who says that "Bob Dole has done the best he knows how to do." His best, unfortunately, has been governed by the law of unintended consequences.

After doing Bill Clinton the favor of keeping Ross Perot out of the debates, Mr. Dole dispatched campaign mismanager Scott Reed to beg Mr. Perot to drop out of the race, thus giving the weird, inconsequential Texan a

New Encyclopedia of Zionism and Israel

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Foreign Affairs

THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

Your Mission, Should You Accept It

WASHINGTON
Whoever wins next week's Presidential election will have to immediately launch an intense round of diplomatic negotiations. Sitting across the table from the next President in these negotiations will be the prickliest of foes: some will be Neanderthals who make the Afghan Taliban mullahs seem like progressives; some will be power-mad egomaniacs; only a few will be allies. The President won't need Air Force One to get to these talks, though. The limo will do. He will, however, need a translator. Because the President's first foreign affairs negotiation is going to have to be with the 105th Congress.

Why? Because the U.S. foreign affairs budget has been cut so sharply (51 percent in real terms since 1984) and the U.S. is now so deeply in arrears to the U.N., the World Bank and the World Health Organization (which are owed more than \$2 billion) and the foreign aid budget has been reduced so far (Egypt and Israel now get almost the whole thing) that the ability of the next President to maintain U.S. leadership and conduct real preventive diplomacy will be severely handicapped unless he can cut a new "Grand Bargain" with Congress.

There is now so little discretionary money left in the foreign affairs budget that the only way to pay for the recent elections in Bosnia was to take the money away from the NATO expansion program, Partnership for Peace. One reason the Kurds in Northern Iraq got embroiled in a civil war was a fight over money, after the U.S. failed to come up with aid. The only way the U.S. can help fund the

Go straight to Capitol Hill.

Guatemalan peace process is to take money away from the Haitian one.
More U.S. ambassadors have been killed than U.S. generals since World War II. No matter, the Congress ordered the Pentagon to spend \$6 billion more than it asked for last year, while telling the State Department to close 30-some embassies and consulates and shut down 25 percent of the U.S.I.A. libraries around the world, which spread the gospel of democracy and free markets. Few people at State have access to the Internet at their computers because there isn't money to buy modems. Craig Johnson, director of resources at State, noted that we now spend about as much supporting democratization in Russian as we do expanding the H.O.V. lane on Route 66 into Washington.

There is nothing wrong with trimming the foreign affairs budget, or with streamlining the system. But it should be done with a sense of priorities, not by putting on a blindfold and backing away at it as if it were a piñata. Look where we are today: An increasing share of U.S. income now comes from exports. American values are triumphing from Mongolia to Moscow. American quality of life is now much more threatened by global trends — the Ebola Virus, population explosions, environmental disasters

or the chaos of countries melting down from within — than from any armed foe. Yet precisely at such a moment we are trashing the U.N., underfunding development banks that help countries help themselves, closing embassies and telling the Pentagon to spend more than it needs. That's insane.

Or as Secretary of State Warren Christopher remarked: "We cannot advance American interests by lowering the American flag."
What to do? The next President must take this issue up with Congress himself. He personally has to make it a priority. The President should also enlist the Joint Chiefs of Staff in his lobbying. Let the generals explain to Congress the importance of having sufficient diplomatic resources so troops aren't the only option. Moreover, President Clinton, if he does win, should appoint several well-known Republican foreign policy figures to his team. Without a real bipartisan approach, no progress on the foreign affairs budget will be possible.

Finally, the next President will have to embark on a major re-education campaign with Congress. That core group of senators who supported foreign aid and who traveled the world is retiring: Sam Nunn, Mark Hatfield, Bill Bradley, William Cohen, Claiborne Pell, Nancy Kassebaum, Paul Simon, Hank Brown and Bob Dole. The President needs to help nurture a whole new foreign policy generation, and he could start by giving them political cover for traveling. Lawmakers, fearful of being accused of junketing, don't travel anymore. Those who don't travel don't care. Those who don't know don't care.

F I L M

That Actor Looks Familiar

By JILL GERSTON

YOU know them. The minute they show up on screen you recognize their faces, those wonderfully expressive yet Everyman faces that make such an indelible imprint on the celluloid landscape. You can't recall their names, but you're positive you've seen them before — and you probably have.

The actor who played the bullying Marine sergeant in "Full Metal Jacket" — wasn't he the same one who played the outraged father in "Dead Man Walking" and the married conventioner who rebuffs Elisabeth Shue in "Leaving Las Vegas"?

And didn't the actor who depicted Alicia Silverstone's gruff but doting dad in "Clueless" also turn up as a harried detective in "The Usual Suspects" and as Bette Midler's bimbobesotted ex-husband in "The First Wives Club"?

R. Lee Ermey and Dan Hedaya may not have their names above the title — how many moviegoers even know their names? — and their faces haven't decorated the cover of Vanity Fair magazine, but as two of Hollywood's busiest character actors, they are the nuts and bolts that anchor a film.

Along with colleagues like J. T. Walsh, M. Emmet Walsh, Joe Pantoliano, Glenn Plummer, Roma Maffia, Max Perlich, William Forsythe, Lois Smith and Will Patton, they constitute a pantheon of gloriously idiosyncratic characters whom fans remember even while the actors' names elude them.

"I'm the guy who kissed the girl who kissed the guy who kissed the horse," said M. Emmet Walsh, 61, who has appeared in 84 feature films, most recently as the discredited psychiatrist testifying for the defense in "A Time to Kill." "But when I walk on screen, no one washes me out. I have presence. If I'm working with Mr. Hackmao or Newman or Redford, it becomes a tennis match between us."

A gifted character actor "makes the leading man or lady sweat and do their best work," said the casting director David Rubin.

"They energize a scene. They make unexpected choices and often surpass the writer's imaginings."

Now that summer's mass-market blockbusters have given way to more dramatic fare, where actors, not special effects, are the focus, these hard-working scene stealers are popping up in a spate of new and forthcoming movies.

Mr. Hedaya, in addition to "The First Wives Club," will be seen in the Mel Gibson thriller "Ransom," in "Marvin's Room," with Meryl Streep and Diane Keaton, in "Daylight" (starring Sylvester Stallone), in "Freeway" (a noir thriller with Kiefer Sutherland) and in "Garden of Redemption," a World War II drama.

Mr. Ermey has meaty roles in "Going West in America," which stars Danny Glover and Dennis Quaid, and "Prefontaine," a Disney film about the track star Steve Prefontaine.

J. T. Walsh, who recently played an opportunistic senator on a hijacked plane in "Executive Decision," appears as an asylum inmate in the offbeat independent film "Slingblade" and as a truck driver in "Breakdown" with Kurt Russell.

M. Emmet Walsh plays a bartender in "Albino Alligator" and an apothecary in "Romeo and Juliet." He recently completed filming "My Best Friend's Wedding," in which he plays the father of the groom.

Ubiquitous though they may be, these actors are not stars. Fans don't stampede to a movie because Mr. Ermey is in it. And in an industry that worships youth and beauty, they tend to look more like the rumpled masses strolling the aisles at Sears than Mel Gibson and Michelle Pfeiffer.

"If the entire population of a film were glamorous and beautiful, it wouldn't be reflective of life," said Mr. Rubin. "The sort of Everyman looks of a character actor are a tremendous asset because they create a specific reality on screen."

Character actors seldom appear throughout a film and are rarely granted long, adoring close-ups. Scripts aren't written for them.

Character actors earn comfortable livings and enjoy a longer shelf life than most stars.

Agents don't fawn over them. Studios don't sign them to megabucks deals and at Oscar time, Giorgio Armani doesn't shower them with clothes.

Though a few established character actors may get roles without having to undergo the humbling process of auditioning, their work life is sporadic: a part may take several weeks to shoot or be over in a day.

Once character actors shine in certain roles — the thug, the psychopath, the detective or the buddy — they have difficulty breaking out of that niche. Actresses, for whom starring roles are scarce, have even more trouble finding dynamic character parts.

"There isn't a dearth of actresses out there; there's a lack of lively, meaningful roles," said Ms. Smith, who appears in "Dead Man Walking," "Twister" and the new Bill Murray comedy, "Larger Than Life," which opens on Friday. "I've been fortunate in these recent years, but in general, there are far more available parts for character men than character women."

Even the term "character actor" can be perceived as a slight.

I never resented being called a character actor in New York, but with the caste system they have in Hollywood, you feel the little sting of it," said J. T. Walsh. "There is a distinction made between the person who is getting \$20 million and everyone else."

On the other hand, character actors will never suffer the ignominy of being the subject of "Whatever Happened to . . ." articles. They don't need bodyguards to accompany them to the corner deli, and they don't shoulder the blame if a movie bombs. Sought-after character actors can earn a comfortable living — in the low-to-mid six figures and higher — and usually have longer careers than stars whose shelf life expires when their looks fade.

"When you're not one of those whom God has picked out of the lottery, you have to work harder at your craft," observed the director Ron Shelton. "But frequently you're the more interesting actor. And you're probably healthier emotionally than most stars, who are bundles of insecurity."

Even if they are anxiety-ridden egomaniacs, supporting players don't dare throw their weight around on a movie set. Maybe a star can be difficult, but a character actor with an attitude problem has very limited employment prospects.

"You don't go in and ask for rewrites, that's for sure," said J. T. Walsh, 52, chuckling at the idea. "You're the one directors know they don't have to worry about, so they can turn their attention to more pressing problems, like finding the star a bigger trailer."

Mr. Ermey put it more succinctly. "You're prepared, you deliver the goods and you don't give people a hard time," he said.

Mr. Ermey, 52, is a leathery-looking ex-marine who got his start almost 20 years ago as a technical adviser on the film "The Boys in Company C." The director was so impressed watching him teach an actor how to be a drill instructor that he dismissed the actor and hired Mr. Ermey. Not surprising, Mr. Ermey got stuck for years playing military parts.

"I was typecast so severely," he said. "For a long time I had to take what was thrown at me. Finally, a few years ago, I put my foot down and told my manager, 'No more military roles.'"

When he was offered the part of the anguished father in "Dead Man Walking," he leaped at the opportunity to be liberated from his khakis — even though he got paid scale. "I'd have done the damn role for free, because it was a great career move," he said. "It gave me an opportunity to really show my wares."

Similarly, Steve Buscemi, who developed a cult following in edgy independent films like "Reservoir Dogs," "Pulp Fiction" and "Fargo," made his directorial debut earlier this month in "Trees Lounge," an examination of suburban blue-collar life which he wrote and, fittingly, starred in.

For most character actors, however, developing their own movies with their own tailor-made leading roles is the stuff that dreams are made on. More realistically, most character actors' goal is just to keep working, whether it's in bread-and-butter parts or in that sparks-flying role that will change their careers.

"It doesn't come overnight, that's for sure," said Mr. Ermey. "You just have to keep working hard and get lucky. In this business, luck has a lot to do with everything."

Mr. Hedaya, 56, who played his share of detectives and blue-collar workers, got his chance to redefine himself with a hilarious-comic turn as a rich Beverly Hills lawyer who indulges his teen-age daughter in "Clueless."

The role not only propelled him up the career ladder but brought him to the attention of fans who ooh may greet him on the street by name, instead of yelling, as one did, "Hey, man of a thousand faces!"

"It took time for people's scales to fall off their eyes in Hollywood, but I'm now given the opportunity for diverse roles," said Mr. Hedaya, who has just begun shooting "A Life Less Ordinary," directed by Danny Boyle, the director of "Trainspotting."

"I feel blessed," Mr. Hedaya said. Really? Isn't it frustrating to be always the supporting player, never the star? Doesn't he hunger for recognition and celebrity?

"I'm not frustrated," he insisted. "I know actors who are truly gifted, and the business has not been as kind to them. I feel very thankful for what is going on."

Indeed, for many character actors who have spent years scrounging for bit parts, it is reward enough to be constantly employed, playing bigger, more pivotal roles. "I can't complain," said J. T. Walsh, whose words were echoed by others.

Yet as one studio casting director put it: "I don't think anybody wakes up and says, 'Gee, I'd like to be a character actor.' You just kind of end up there."

So how does a character actor vault from supporting roles to leads? How does one go from anonymous stalwart to star, as Gene Hackman, Kathy Bates and Morgan Freeman did?

"It's opportunity, timing, talent and the right role in the right movie," said the producer Scott Rudin. "It's that one breakthrough role that gives them the bounce. Tommy Lee Jones before 'The Fugitive' is not Tommy Lee Jones as he is today. That was an incredible part in a gigantic hit movie that made people suddenly say: 'Wow! Tommy Lee Jones can hold the center of a film.' That can happen for any of these people."

Fifty or so years ago, during the heyday of the studio system, when studios churned out more than 50 films apiece annually, there was less urgency about snaring that one breakthrough part because there were gemlike roles galore for character actors.

Sydney Greenstreet, Peter Lorre, George Sanders, Una Merkel and Edward Everett Horton became stars in their own right. They turned up in film after film (albeit often in the same generic role), thanks to long-term contracts that guaranteed them steady work.

Today's supporting players don't have such job security. What's more, as stars' salaries skyrocket, character actors are often asked to take pay cuts. And their roles, as J. T. Walsh put it, "don't have much meat on the bone."

Increasingly, character actors are turning to television series for both steady employment and highly visible, well-written roles.

"The carrot of making a lot of money is a big thing for them because they've spent so many years struggling," said Sam Gores, a partner in Paradigm Talent Agency, whose client Dennis Franz got a star-making role in the television drama "N.Y.P.D. Blue." "Some are hoping for a long-run series so they can put away their retirement money."

J. T. Walsh readily admits that "job security" induced him to take a role as a naval officer on NBC's sci-fi drama "Dark Skies."

Ms. Maffia, who won recognition for her role as the acerbic feminist lawyer representing Michael Douglas in "Disclosure," turns up this season on a forensic investigative team in the NBC drama "Profiler" and Mr. Pantoliano plays a crazed hood in the CBS drama "EZ Streets." (Mr. Pantoliano also appears as a gangster in "Bound," which opened this month.)

Stanley Tucci, whose screen roles included the assassin stalking Julia Roberts in "The Pelican Brief," won critical acclaim last season for his portrayal of a devious mogul in Steven Bochco's court drama "Murder One." Unwilling to be stuck forever playing the heavy, Mr. Tucci took it upon himself to create his own star vehicle: "Big Night," a modest movie that recently opened to glowing reviews.

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Wasn't He the Guy in . . . ? Dan Hedaya, one of the pantheon of character actors whose Everyman looks are credited with creating a "specific reality" on the screen. He plays a harried detective, below left, with Chazz Palminteri; Alicia Silverstone's doting dad, bottom left, and Bill Medler's ex-husband.



Linda A. Chen/Granper Pictures (top); Photofest (left and right)

VAMPIRE'S DELIGHT

BY NANCY NICHOLSON JOLINE / EDITED BY WILL SHORTZ

ACROSS

- One of the Brady Bunch
- "Darlin'" (Neal Hefti song)
- Some W.W. II service personnel
- Public relations effort
- Consecrate
- River or reservoir in Hesse
- Saudi Arabia neighbor
- Corn
- Showed no emotion
- "Dracula" miss
- Epilepsy for Adenauer
- Daughter of Teddy Roosevelt
- Natterjacks
- Like chicken fingers
- Hanukkah item
- Singer Garret
- Where the Clintons met
- de coeur
- Sculpture material
- Pakistani river
- Sister of Helios
- Fortress parapets
- Related through the mother
- 90-Down's land
- Crocus and gladiolus
- Whin
- Broadway better
- Wrongs
- Valise, e.g.
- Southern capital
- "The Hundred Secret Senses" author
- Movie theater
- Pro
- Riot
- Mexican President, 1946-52
- Allowance
- Painter Childs
- Some undercover operations
- Make
- List ender
- Verdi's "tu"
- Leave
- Tallinn natives
- Disturb
- Word with buddy or binary
- Kind of prize
- Spa feature
- Con game
- Daughter of Juan Carlos
- Prince Philip's surname
- Sense of taste
- Hat designer Lilly
- Water channel: Abbr.
- Partook of
- Like outer space

DOWN

- Word heard in fine stores
- Old-womanish
- "Le Penneur" sculptor
- Mexican holiday — de Mayo
- Lulls
- Up
- Big star at night
- Don Quixotes
- Rembrandt's birthplace
- Aussie marsupial
- "Jaws" setting
- Former capital of Crete
- Tangles
- Bicker
- Keeps up the beat?
- "ER" extras
- More strapped
- Live
- Demosthenes, e.g.
- Charge
- Point of no return?
- Amusing
- Polynesian tongue
- Fencers' movements
- Castro predecessor
- Bar events
- Old World finches
- MS. venters
- Pitches
- X rating?
- Messes up
- Forward pass, in football
- Some ice cream orders
- Acoustic
- Airheads
- Secured, with "down"
- Let go tactfully
- Critic Vincent
- Lender's letters
- Two Jima flag raiser
- Toxic atmosphere
- Made a yoke
- Part of a "Star Wars" name
- Where to see "The Last Supper"
- Venue
- Spacecraft part
- Cartoonist's transparency
- Here or there
- African capital
- More rigid
- Dimensional
- Tree with white flower clusters
- Comrade Kosygin
- Pile
- Tumblers, e.g.
- Utmost
- Wilson Dam org.
- "For Your Eyes Only" singer, 1981
- Fictional mastermind
- Fence feature
- Albeniz's " — in D"
- Amusement park attraction
- Park land?
- Artist Max
- Dips one's toe in
- 90'
- Wayne film "Back to

ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

TRIVET	PUSA	ATY	KALE
GENEVA	UGHS	ROUF	INAW
ABREAK	PEASTOFF	FLORE	INAW
PEOPLE	OF THE SOUTH	WIND	
ELMS	OF	STEM	SUN
SSB	ENIG		
GREAT	MOUNTAIN	PLACE	USHER
STEN	ONCOURSE	AURA	
MOONVED	ALERTED	PLUM	
AUTOSALE	ALIS		
GREAT	RIVER	SNOWCAP	PPEO
AMES	CASCINO	NOTREADY	
MAPA	OUTMOUNTS	BERTRUDE	
TRIBE	OF SUPERIOR	MEN	
EXCEL			
ETA	OER	ENG	ASTA
TOWN	OF THE	LARGE	CANOE
SKYT	UNITED	WATER	ALIBIS
LOW	ERNE	NINA	NOTARY
OSBO	ATA	DDOM	SEARS



Roma Maffia won recognition for her role as the acerbic feminist lawyer representing Michael Douglas in "Disclosure."

هذا من الاصل

Antisemitic undertones to Romanian elections

Ominous sentiments ignited in Romania as the US ambassador attempted to elevate Jewish causes in the forthcoming elections. Michael Jordan reports

INTO the home stretch of a heated election campaign, the Romanian opposition has launched an attack spiced with antisemitic undertones on the US ambassador, for his perceived support of President Ion Iliescu.

Leading opposition dailies *Romania Libera* and *Ziua* sparked the furor, with comments last month in which they assailed US Ambassador Alfred H. Moses for allegedly coying up to Iliescu's ruling Party of Social Democracy in Romania (PDSR), in advance of the November 3 elections.

Both newspapers cited as proof, Moses' role in the withdrawal from Romania of the Washington-based International Republican Institute.

The IRI, fully funded by the American government, had advised opposition forces on how to loosen the PDSR's electoral grip, and provided logistical support.

The opposition and IRI view the PDSR, whose leadership cotered the scene during Romania's dramatic 1989 revolution, as just a slightly tamet version of the former Communist regime.

Moses, on the other hand, has commended the government for its limited economic and political

reforms and lobbied on Romania's behalf for foreign investment and its admission into Western institutions such as NATO. So he ordered the IRI to either act nonpartisan in the name of "the democratic process" or to cover its \$417,000 annual budget through private sources.

The IRI, chaired by US Senator John McCain, responded that the PDSR didn't need its services and that the institute couldn't go it alone financially. Funding ceased in November 1995 and the IRI pulled up stakes this March.

Now some critics speculate that Iliescu and Moses, president of the American Jewish Committee from 1991-94, struck a back-room deal, to get the IRI out of the way in exchange for preferential treatment for Romania's tiny Jewish community when communal and individual property confiscated during the Communist era is returned.

"It is difficult to believe," wrote *Ziua*, "[that the ambassador's support] is not being used in [his] efforts to get back Jewish houses nationalized during the totalitarian regime."

A letter to the editor in *Romania Libera* added ominously that favoring Jews could "pro-



(Left) President Ion Iliescu during a visit to Israel; (right) Ambassador Moses as seen with Yitzhak Shamir in 1991.



voke unwanted inter-ethnic tensions," and former Romanian Supreme Court Justice Corneliu Turianu, said, "[Moses] is praising Iliescu because he wants to give back houses to the Jews. But if the houses are given back to only this category of people, there'll be a conflict between Jews and Romanians like there is between Romanians and Hungarians. The Jews would appear to be a privileged group."

A statement released by the US

Embassy in Bucharest two days later branded *Ziua's* claims as "preposterous."

Moses, at the time out of town for the High Holy Days, clarified his position last week in an interview with *The Jerusalem Post*. He said he is merely carrying out US policy, which calls for the return of or monetary compensation for all property wrongly taken prior to 1989.

"US pressure has often focused on compensating the

various Jewish communities, twice victimized — by the Holocaust and Communism. Compared with neighbors like Hungary, Romania lags far behind on the issue.

"A draft law concerning the return of Jewish communal property like hospitals, schools and synagogues has languished for nine months."

His detractors "refuse to accept the facts as they are," Moses said.

"Restitution of Jewish and other communal property is in furtherance of US policy, fully articulated by the Administration and the Congress, not on behalf of any particular community in Romania."

But with elections less than one month away, facts are being used selectively. Both sides are anxious and quick to sully the other.

It appears Iliescu will retain the presidency, with a coalition of opposition parties — led by the center-right Democratic Coealition of Romania (CDR) — expected to capture the Parliament.

CDR presidential candidate Emil Constantinescu told the *Post* his party feels "isolated from the West" for it has "lost interest in Romania's democratic forces."

But some believe the accusations leveled at Moses are simply a case of an "everyone's against us" mentality, seemingly imbued in the Romanian psyche.

"It's an unconscious excuse, one of many, for the possibility of losing the elections," said Michael Shafir, a Romania expert with the Open Media Research Institute in Prague. "It's the search for scapegoats." Oftea a co-elector target has been the Jewish community, and now the outspoken Moses.

Romanian Jewry has shriveled from a pre-war high of 800,000 to just 14,000 today. An estimated 160,000 are said to have perished during the Holocaust, and roughly 400,000 Romanian Jews now reside in Israel.

In fact, Moses, a respected Washington lawyer, was among those to negotiate with Romanian dictator Nicolae Ceausescu during the 1980s for Jews and others to be free to emigrate.

Ceausescu, hungry for hard currency, sold tens of thousands of Jews to Israel.

When US President Bill Clinton nominated Moses in August 1994, his link to the Ceausescu regime was held against him.

Seven Romanian senators petitioned the US Congress to block the appointment on the grounds that Moses' work with Ceausescu indicated tacit approval of the Communist system. Analysts, however, saw the unsuccessful protest as thioily veiled antisemitism.

Yet while in Romania, Moses has not shied from the spotlight, and the right wing's chorus of criticism has continued unabated. Throughout 1995, he prodded Iliescu and the PDSR to sever ties with its ultra-nationalist and neo-communist coalition partners, as the union tarnished Romania's international image. The PDSR finally relented and has gradually dumped each of its extremist allies.

Then came the IRI affair, which broke only recently when official correspondence was leaked to the opposition press.

While some cotered Moses occasionally interferes and oversteps the boundaries of diplomatic protocol, he says he's played it central.

And, several top opposition figures, including Bucharest Mayor Victor Ciorbea, have come to his defense.

"I refuse to become involved in the electoral campaign," Moses said.

"If Romania wants to be a part of the West, its cause would be best served by a centrist coalition government. Whether it be center left or center right, it's up to the Romanian people."

Senator Thurmond: 'should be allowed to die in the Capitol'

HE may be 93, hard of hearing, slow on foot and prone to losing his place when paragraphs get too long, but Senator Strom Thurmond, Republican — South Carolina, is doing fine. He delivers the goods for his state in a way that most politicians can only dream of.

"I have a 93-year-old conservative with 42 years of experience running against a 42-year-old liberal with no experience," said Doug McIlvaine, 38, chairman of the re-elect Thurmond campaign in Summerville, just north of Charleston. "When do you want to vote for?"

Apparently, Strom Thurmond — who leads against Elliott Springs Close in his bid to win an eighth Senate term. This, in a seat the Democrats once thought they could capture.

Thurmond is already the oldest senator in history. Next year he will have had more years in office than any senator in history, and if he sticks around for all six years, he'll be 100.

"There comes a point when you deserve bipartisan support," said attorney Diane Goodstein, 40, who is not a Republican. "He's conservative, but he's more than a good senator. If he wants to die in the US Capitol, then he ought to be able to die there."

During a recent meet-and-greet at Summerville's Woodlands Resort and Inn, Thurmond, a lumbering man just shy of six feet tall, moved slowly. His mottled face, high-cheekbones with small blue eyes, looks 93, and is

framed by wispy orange hair (the outcome of a transplant a quarter-century ago).

Broad-shouldered, long-armed and meaty, he has a powerful grip honed by years of weightlifting and workouts. "I watch my diet, and I get exercise," Thurmond says. "I'm in a different category from most people my age."

Yes and no. He may be a shamble, but he doesn't lean on anyone. He uses a hearing aid, but he can get along without it. And, he retains the politician's ability to get right up close, uncock a megawatt sky-blue stare, and make the point he wants to make.

When the inevitable "age" question arises, he responds: "Wouldn't you call that discrimination against age when they don't discriminate for sex, race or religion? Why even raise the question?"

IT OFTEN appears he cannot carry the load. For years, Thurmond has read virtually every statement, question or motion he has made on the floor of the Senate or in the Armed Services Committee, where he is chairman. But, aides hover, whisper in his ear, speak for him and frequently tell him what to say. He doesn't schmooze or talk issues, and only rarely gives interviews, always with a minico standing by to reword, interject or interrupt.

On Armed Services, other members speak confidentially about the difficulty of working

with Thurmond's staff, and his reluctance to relinquish the gavel, even briefly. A rumored revolt by Republican members dissolved in 1995, when the Majority Leader Bob Dole (Republican — Kansas), gave Thurmond his support. These days, Thurmond's top three Republican committee colleagues — Senators John W. Warner (Virginia), William S. Cohen (Maine) and John McCain (Arizona) — do all they can to help.

At a recent meeting in Bosnia, they unobtrusively nudged the proceedings along, extended courtesies Thurmond forgot, and asked follow-up questions he did not ask.

Still, as almost any South Carolinian will assert, none of this is the point. "There's no great piece of legislation you can credit to Strom Thurmond," said Clemson University political scientist David Woodard.

"But he has represented South Carolina well, and he has this aura of never abasing the public trust."

Woodard tells the story of how he was flying to South Carolina from Washington, and "there was Strom in coach class," wearing his rumpled suit, carrying an overnight bag and looking for a seat, "just like anybody else." Just a regular guy who, through longevity and prolonged public service, has achieved mythic status. He has done favors for 70 years, for four generations of South Carolinians, and people never forget it.



Senator Strom Thurmond: 'I'm in a different category from most people my age.'

At the Thurmond rally in Summerville, everybody had a Strom story. Goodstein met him at a parade 15 years ago, "when I just stepped out and said hello."

Theodora Buddin, 77, carries a book of "Strom Thurmond Family Recipes" that Thurmond gave her in 1978, the last time he was seriously challenged. "He's still got plenty of sense," Buddin said, "and as long as he's all there, we'll elect him."

Jerry L. Savella, 47, remembered how a single phone call from Thurmond to the US Embassy in Bogota in 1977 persuaded the consulate to give Savella's Colombian bride a visa: "It was a miracle," he said. Or William Lomax, 53, a physician who called Thurmond in 1984 because the Navy wouldn't let him retire: "Well, he told me, 'the secretary of the Navy is sitting in my office just this minute,'" Lomax said. Sooo after, he was a civilian.

THURMOND'S mid-life career as the Dixiecrat candidate for president in 1948, and a leading segregationist seems all but forgotten. While he does not get a large percentage of the black vote, Thurmond has worked to improve relations, bringing aid

to black communities.

"That was then, and this is now," said Cecil Williams, 56, a black photographer who lost to Close in the Democratic Senate primary, and is supporting Thurmond. "He's inspiring to me; he's given his life to public service, and I want to be just like him."

Jesse Dave, 49, the black chairman of the Dorchester County Republican Party, accompanied Thurmond on glad-handing tours during the Republican party convention, and "he just walked and walked." Dave said, "Everybody wanted to touch him."

Close, the multimillionaire textile heir who wants to unseat Thurmond, was born in 1954, the year Thurmond cotered the Senate.

Perhaps realizing, as Clemson's Woodard pointed out, it's difficult "not to appear mean-spirited," Close said the issue is not age, but "competence." Close constantly alludes to Thurmond's fitness to take South Carolina "into the 21st century,"

and uses a photo in a television advert that makes Thurmond look like Dorian Gray.

At Woodlands, it was Thurmond's turn to speak. He mumbled somewhat, and occasionally looked at his hands or into space, persistent habits in the Senate. But he spoke unhesitatingly without notes and he told a joke. He didn't plan a prolonged speech, he said, and felt "like the famous actress who had been married a dozen times." Each time she told her husband not to worry, because "I won't keep you loog."

The race against Close, Thurmond said, was about "experience against money. I've got the experience, he's got the money and we're going to beat him."

But he didn't sound so sure, and as he finished, his voice cracked, perhaps partly by design, but also through cooption. "I've given my whole life for South Carolina," he said. "Now, when I'm at the zenith of my power, I hope you'll send me back." (The Washington Post)

Beef-eaters versus the world

EARTHLY CONCERNS
D'VORA BEN SHAUL

THERE is a question that must be faced by any person who is truly concerned about global environment, and particularly about the starving peoples of the world who, lacking even a subsistence diet, comprise one of the world's greatest environmental problems.

The question, serious and complex, is whether in a world where people are starving because of the lack of a hawl of grain we can justify the resources that go into the production of beef.

Beef is an expensive product, both monetarily and ecologically.

It takes over 5,000 liters of water to produce a kilogram of beef, some five servings. It takes only about 330 liters to cultivate a grain-based vegetarian diet.

It also takes over five kilograms of grain products to produce that kilo of beef, while that amount of grain will provide a daily ration of nourishing grain for 10 to 12 persons.

Experts have estimated that the grain used to feed beef cattle (some 50 million tons per year) represents about 90 per cent of the total protein requirements of the global population.

In addition, the clearing of forested land to create grazing areas is one of the chief culprits in the destruction of the world's forests, particularly the tropical rain forests.

This adds greatly to soil erosion, the pollution of water sources, the destruction of habitats, disturbance of rainfall patterns and the amount of carbon monoxide and carbon dioxide released into the atmosphere that exacerbate global warming.

Given these statistics, it is clear that if beef ceased to be a major item of food production then it would be possible to grow enough grain to feed the world and to preserve vital natural resources at the same time.

That is what the statistics show to be, at least,

the theoretical possibility. The question that remains is whether or not this plan would work.

Some vegetarians dismiss all arguments as rather weak rationalization on the part of meat-consuming people, and hold that they are the great barrier to ending starvation.

Others, not necessarily enamored of beef consumption, question this assumption.

Given the political actuality of the countries of the world, it is easily shown that an awful lot of world hunger is not because there is no food available but because some governments place feeding their masses at a very low point on their list of priorities.

They neither assist in the production, nor are they willing to fund the purchase of food for those that they, in their cynicism, consider an expendable part of their population, that is the less educated and helpless.

Having worked intensively in famine-relief programs in the Far East and in the Indian subcontinent, I know that it is not always the lack of food that allows people to starve but the greed and callous indifference of their own governments and their own upper classes — the "haves" of their society.

It is, most interestingly, a fact that because of concerns over cholesterol in the diet, the consumption of beef in the US, for instance, has dropped more than 25 per cent over the past five years yet out one grain of extra wheat has been diverted to the famine-stricken areas.

In fact, in some areas farmers have been paid subsidies to not grow more grain in order to avoid a market surplus which would lower the overall price of grain. Cynical? Yes. Immoral? I think so. Unethical?

For sure, if one considers the overall picture. But this too, like the true cost of beef production, is a fact that has to be faced.

THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR ISRAEL
DEPARTMENT OF RURAL AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

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ECONOMIC POLICY AND ITS EFFECT ON ENTERPRISE AND DEVELOPMENT IN JERUSALEM

Seminar and Gala Dinner in the presence of
Dan Meridor, Minister of Finance
Avraham Burg, Chairman of the Executive of the Jewish Agency
Ehud Olmert MK, Mayor of Jerusalem

Sunday, November 3, 1996, at 6:30 p.m.
at the Sheraton Plaza Hotel, 47 King George St., Jerusalem
Moderator: Gad Lior, Jerusalem Bureau Chief, *Yediot Aharonot*

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הכנסה מן האלטר

Key Representative Rates table with columns for currency and rate.

Italy raises record \$5.1b. in partial sale of energy, chemical giant ENI

ROME (Reuters) - Italy's Treasury pulled off the country's largest privatization with the sale of 14 percent of oil and chemical giant Eni Nazionale Idrocarburi (ENI).

November at 5,250 lire per share. It planned to sell just 700m. shares in the second tranche offering.

Stocks stable ahead of bank rate decision

TEL AVIV STOCK MARKET



STOCKS were stable as investors waited for today's decision from the central bank about the direction of interest rates.

Copper rises above \$2,000 per ton

COMMODITIES ROUNDUP

LONDON (Reuters) - World copper prices broke back above the psychological barrier of \$2,000 per ton, and some traders said Friday they saw potential for further gains as warehouse stocks tumbled.

Copper hit \$2,027 on the London Metal Exchange (LME) late Friday, perhaps at last shaking off the blues that have prevailed since the disgrace of the Japanese mastermind of a high-price trading strategy, Yasuo Hamanaka, back in June.

Some LME floor traders predicted further gains, given that warehouse stocks of copper have fallen 60 percent from their peak last year to just 145,825 tons.

If data due tomorrow shows another big draw, they would be at the lowest for more than six years.

"Comparing total stocks to prices (over the last 15 years) we estimate that the price of copper should be \$1.10 per pound (\$2,425/ton)," said Wiktor Bielski, analyst at Bain and Co.

He estimated total stocks at around 3.5 weeks' consumption, not far above the all-time low of 3.1 weeks.

But Bielski said there were special factors in play which are limiting the market's upside potential.

One was the perception that long positions in copper were still being unwound by banks that took over the massive exposure of Sumitomo Corp. of Japan, after it fired Hamanaka and alleged he had run up losses of \$2.6 billion in rogue trades.

"In fact, looking into 1997, I don't think the market will be that far away from balance," Bielski said.

Floor traders added that there was a big question mark over whether the copper moving out of LME warehouses was being consumed or merely shifted to consumer yards in Europe, warehouses in China, and to the US and Japan.

But physical merchants were confident that copper offtake was picking up, justifying the decline in inventories.

"We are seeing good business in the US, good business in the Far East and a shortage of scrap forcing people to take more LME material as a substitute," said one European merchant.

And of the 40,000 tons going to China, the merchant estimated only 10,000 to 15,000 tons was likely to find its way back into LME warehouses in Singapore.

Other dampeners on the copper price were influential short-position holders trying to protect their exposure and producers selling into rallies in case the market collapses, traders said.

Mexico's new economic pact sets growth targets

MEXICO CITY (Reuters) - The Mexican government signed a new economic pact for 1997 with business and labor leaders, saying recovery from last year's disastrous recession is well underway and faster growth will come in the future.

"This is a good alliance for the worker, for the farmer, for the employee and for the employer, a good alliance for growth and a good alliance for Mexico," President Ernesto Zedillo said this weekend at the signing ceremony at his official residence, Los Pinos, following all-night negotiations.

"Recovery is now reaching clearly into all spheres of production," Zedillo said. The new pact allows us to propose for 1997 a definitive step towards the growth that Mexico needs.

The accord, officially called the Alliance for Growth, set a target of at least 3% economic growth this year, rising to at least 4% next year, and 5-6% annually thereafter.

Business leader Hector Larios Santillan said 1996 growth, fuelled by exports and a revival of domestic demand, could be as high as 3.7%.

In 1995, in the deep recession that followed the December 1994 peso crash, the Mexican economy shrank by almost 7%.

The government also predicted inflation, which skyrocketed following the peso crash, would be reined back to 15% in 1997 from over 50% last year and about half that rate this year.

The pact set an increase in the minimum wage of 17%, effective from Dec. 1 and valid for all of next year.

IMF expresses reservations on Turkey's '97 budget

ANKARA (Reuters) - An IMF team assessing the Turkish economy expressed concern over Turkey's ambitious 1997 budgetary targets and urged the government to implement an urgent anti-inflation program.

"In the present situation of high inflation and a widening external current account deficit, the IMF mission urged the adoption by Turkey of a comprehensive anti-inflationary program," the team said in a communiqué this weekend.

Turkey introduced a zero-deficit 1997 budget-draft to parliament last week, envisaging the raising of \$8.5 billion in revenue through the sale of state assets and a minority stake in telecom giant Turk Telekom.

The communiqué said the IMF mission welcomed the intention of the government to accelerate privatization and strengthen tax administration.

"At the same time, it expressed reservations on the feasibility of realizing the tax revenue projections of the budget and the expected proceeds from privatization and asset sales within the envisaged time frame," it added.

The team will leave Turkey after a two-week examination of the economy hit by big public deficits and inflation of around 80 percent.

The communiqué said the dialogue between the IMF and Turkey would be maintained through further discussions in early 1997.

"The mission also expressed its concern at the large and growing deficit of the social security system, which requires urgent measures to improve its operational balance. Firm control over expenditures would also be needed to achieve the targets."

Ontario unions protest government budget cuts in Toronto

TORONTO (Reuters) - At least 75,000 demonstrators converged on the Ontario legislature this weekend to protest deep budget cuts by the province's Conservative government.

Estimates of the size of the demonstration varied widely. Toronto police first put the number of people participating at 40,000, based on a count conducted by helicopter, but later raised the figure to 75,000, the Canadian Press news agency reported.

Organized by labor unions, the demonstration followed mass picketing on Friday that shut the transit system in Canada's largest city and disrupted businesses, government offices and factories. Transit service was back to normal Saturday.

Labor leaders and social activists urged the government of Conservative Ontario Premier Mike Harris to retreat from its budget-cutting policies. "Quit throwing people out of work if your agenda is

about creating jobs," Buz Hargrove, president of the Canadian Auto Workers union, said.

The march stopped in front of the downtown convention centre where the provincial Conservative Party, with the premier in attendance, was holding its annual convention.

Harris later called on the demonstrators to put forward concrete proposals. "We understand those who may disagree," he told reporters. "We're saying to them that you must do more than that. You must give us positive suggestions."

About 50 supporters of the government's policies gathered briefly at the start of the march. They waved signs but dispersed as the demonstration got under way.

The two "Days of Action" in Toronto followed similar, smaller protests in four other Ontario cities earlier this year. The demonstrators are outraged at Harris' plans to cut spending by C\$8 billion (NIS 16 billion) to wipe out a big budget deficit by the turn of the century.

Trade ties to top agenda of Kohl's Indonesia trip

JAKARTA (Reuters) - German Chancellor Helmut Kohl is expected to concentrate on trade and economic relations during his official visit to Indonesia.

But German officials have indicated human rights and the thorny problem of East Timor could also come up in discussions today with Indonesia's President Suharto and other government leaders.

Kohl, accompanied by three of his federal ministers and 56 German industrialists, arrived in Jakarta Saturday. The long-serving German chancellor was due to spend a leisurely day yesterday with Suharto among the Thousand Islands in the Java Sea, north of Jakarta.

Accompanying them was Indonesian Research and Technology Minister Jusuf Habibie, a close associate of Suharto who has retained close links with Germany, having studied there at the Technical University of Aachen.

Fritz Kleinsteuber, director of the Indonesian-German Economic Association in Jakarta, said there were good opportunities for German businesses in Indonesia.

Indonesia needs to develop small and medium-sized industries in layers below the established conglomerates, he said. "We need to promote German companies moving into Asia. For me, China is number one in Asia. But China is not the place for medium-sized and small-sized industries."

is no doubt they are coming," Kleinsteuber said.

Germany is Indonesia's largest European market. Two-way trade amounted to 6.8 billion marks (NIS15b.) in 1995, 75 percent higher than five years before.

"We do not need to improve our relationship. Our relationship is excellent," Kleinsteuber said.

Kohl has called Suharto, who underwent medical checks near Frankfurt earlier this year, a "good friend of Germany."

But a German government official said last week Kohl would raise the issue of human rights during his visit.

Self-exiled East Timorese resistance leader Jose Ramos Horta, who was awarded the 1996 Nobel Peace Prize jointly with East Timorese Catholic Bishop Carlos Belo earlier this month, urged Kohl at the end of last week to press Suharto to begin withdrawing his troops from East Timor immediately.

TEL AVIV STOCKS table with columns for Multi-sided trading, Two-sided trading, and Morning trading. Includes various stock names and prices.

